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THE

GRECIAN HISTORY,

FROM

THE EARLIEST STATE,

TO THE

DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

By Dr. GOLDSMITH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, A

SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE,

FROM

THAT PERIOD,

TO

THE SACKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE OTHOMANS.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. I.

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FROM the times of Alexander, to the ſacking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, a period of fifteen centuries, the Grecian ſtates, being under the influence of foreign councils, and the controul of foreign arms, had loſt their exiſtence as a nation. But neither did they ſubmit to ſlavery without a ſtruggle, nor did the power which ſubverted their government deface, at once, their national character, or deſtroy, but by degrees, the various effects which flowed from their original genius and political inſtitutions.

In what is ſubjoined, in this edition, to the narrative of Dr. GOLDSMITH, it is the aim of the author to trace, amidſt the revolutions of nations, the re-

remains of Greece; to take a ſummary view of her efforts for the recovery of expiring liberty; to trace thoſe features that remained the longeſt unſullied by the infection of barbariſm, and thoſe efforts of genius, which, ſurviving the diſſolution of the ſtate, continued, and ſtill continue to enlighten and refine the world.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAP. I.

Of the earliest State of Greece.

THE first notices we have of every country are fabulous and uncertain. Among an unenlightened people every impoſture is likely to take place, for ignorance is the parent of credulity. Nothing therefore which the Greeks have tranſmitted to us concerning their earlieſt ſtate can be relied on. Poets were the firſt who began to record the actions of their countrymen, and it is a part of their art to ſtrike the imagination even at the expence of probability. For

this reaſon, in the earlieſt accounts of Greece we are preſented with the machinations of gods and demigods, the adventures of heroes and giants, the ravages of monſters and dragons, and all the potency of charms and enchantments. Man ſeems ſcarcely to have any ſhare in the picture, and while the reader wanders through the moſt delightful ſcenes the imagination can offer, he is ſcarce once preſented with the actions of ſuch a being as himſelf.

It would be vain, therefore, and beſide the preſent purpoſe, to give an hiſtorical air to accounts which were never meant to be tranſmitted as true. Some writers indeed have laborioufly undertaken to ſeparate the truth from the fable, and to give us an unbroken narrative from the firſt dawning of tradition to the diſplay of undoubted hiſtory; they have levelled down all mythology to their own apprehenſions; every fable is made to look with an air of probability; inſtead of a golden fleece, Jaſon goes in purſuit of a great treaſure; inſtead of deſtroying a chimera, Bellerophon reclaims a mountain; inſtead of an hydra, Hercules overcomes a robber.

Thus the fanciful pictures of a ſtrong imagination are taught to aſſume a ſerious ſeverity, and tend to deceive the reader ſtill more, by offering in the garb of truth what had been only meant to delight and allure him.

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The fabulous age, therefore, of Greece, muſt have no place in hiſtory; it is now too late to ſeparate thoſe parts which may have a real foundation in nature, from thoſe which owe their exiſtence wholly to the imagination. There are no traces left to guide us in that intricate purſuit; the dews of the morning are paſt, and it is vain to attempt continuing the chace in meridian ſplendor. It will be ſufficient, therefore, for us to obſerve, that Greece, like moſt other countries of whoſe origin we have any notice, was at firſt divided into a number of petty ſtates, each commanded by its own ſovereign. Ancient Greece, which is now the ſouth part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the eaſt by the Ægean ſea, now called the Archipelago; on the ſouth by the Cretan, or Candian ſea; on the weſt by the Ionian ſea; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace. Of ſuch very narrow extent, and ſo very contemptible, with regard to territory, was that country, which gave birth to all the arts of war and peace, which produced the greateſt generals, philoſophers, poets, painters, architects, and ſtatuaries, that ever the world boaſted; which overcame the moſt powerful monarchs, and diſperſed the moſt numerous armies that ever were brought into the field, and at laſt became the inſtructor of all mankind.

It is ſaid in ſcripture that Javan, the ſon of Japheth, was the father of all thoſe nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks. Of his four ſons, Eliſha, or Ellas, is ſaid to have given name to the Ελληνες, a general name by which the Greeks were known. Tharſis, the ſecond ſon, is thought to have ſettled in Achaia; Chittim ſettled in Macedonia; and Dodanim, the fourth ſon, in Theſſaly and Epirus. How they portioned out the country, what revolutions they experienced, or what wars they maintained, are utterly unknown: and, indeed, the hiſtory of petty, barbarous ſtates, if known, would hardly recompence the trouble of enquiry. In thoſe early times, kingdoms were but inconſiderable: a ſingle city, with a few leagues of land, was often honoured with that magnificent appellation; it would, therefore, embarraſs hiſtory to enter into the domeſtic privacy of every little ſtate, as it would be rather a ſubject for the œconomiſt than the politician. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that Sicyon is ſaid to be the moſt ancient kingdom of Greece. The beginning of this petty ſovereignty is placed by hiſtorians in the year of the world one thouſand nine hundred and fifteen, before Jeſus Chriſt two thouſand eighty-nine, and before the firſt Olympiad one thouſand three hundred and thirteen. The firſt king was Ægialeus. Its duration is ſaid to have been a thouſand years.

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The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponneſus, began a thouſand and eighty years before the firſt Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The firſt king was Inachus. A. M. 2148.

The kingdom of Mycænæ ſucceeded. The ſeat of government was tranſlated thither from Argos by Perſeus, the grandſon of Acriſius, the laſt king of that country, whom Perſeus unfortunately ſlew. The kings who reigned at Mycænæ after Perſeus, were Electryon, Sthenelus, and Euryſtheus; the latter of whom was driven out by the Heraclidæ, or the deſcendants of Hercules, who made themſelves maſters of Peloponneſus.

The kingdom of Athens was firſt formed into a regular government by Cecrops, an Egyptian. This prince, having departed from Egypt, and travelled ſeveral years in other places, came from Phœnicia into Greece, and lived in Attica, where he was kindly received by Actæus, the king of that country; married his daughter; and, on his death, ſucceeded to his throne. He taught the people, who were ſavages, the uſe of fixed habitations, reſtrained all licentious luſt, obliged each man to marry one wife, and laid down rules for the conduct of life, and the exerciſe of all religious and civil offices. He divided the whole country into twelve diſtricts, and alſo eſtabliſhed a court for judging cauſes, entitled the A. M. 2448.

Areopagus. Amphictyon, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy among the twelve ſtates of Greece, which aſſembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, there to offer up common ſacrifices, and to conſult for the common intereſt of the aſſociation. Theſeus, one of the ſucceeding kings of this ſtate, united the twelve boroughs of Cecrops into one city. Codrus was the laſt of this line, who devoted himſelf to death for his people. The Heraclidæ having made an irruption as far as the gates of Athens, the oracle declared, that they ſhould be conquerors whoſe king ſhould fall in this conteſt. To take the earlieſt advantage, therefore, of this anſwer, Codrus diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, and provoking one of the enemy's ſoldiers, was killed by him. Whereupon the Athenians ſent an herald to demand the body of their king, which meſſage ſtruck ſuch a damp into the enemy, that they departed without ſtriking another blow. After Codrus, the title of king was extinguiſhed among the Athenians. Medon, his ſon, was ſet at the head of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, which ſignifies chief governor. The firſt of this denomination had their places for life; but the Athenians growing weary of a government which repreſt their love of freedom, they abridged the term of the archon's power

to

to ten years, and at last made the office elective every year.

The kingdom of Thebes was first founded by Cadmus. This hero having had an Egyptian father, was brought up in the religion, and was well acquainted with the history of that country, whence several writers of his life have accounted him an Egyptian: and, at the same time, being born and educated in Phœnicia, he became master of the language and letters of that country. He sailed from the coast of Phœnicia, and arriving in Bœotia, he founded, or rebuilt the city, calling it Thebes, from the city of that name in Egypt, and the citadel, from his own name, Cadmea. Here he fixed the seat of his power and dominion. To this prince are ascribed sixteen letters of the Greek alphabet. But, as the order, names, and characters of these letters bear a near resemblance to the old Phœnician, or Hebrew letters, we are not to suppose that he invented, but only that he formed them from his own language, as it is probable the Phœnicians had before formed theirs from the Egyptian. The adventures of his unhappy posterity, Laius, Jocasta, Œdipus, Eteocles, and Polynices, make a shining figure among the poetical fictions of that period. A.M. 2549.

The kingdom of Sparta, or Lacedæmon, is ſuppoſed to have been firſt inſtituted by Lelexa. Helena, the tenth in ſucceſſion from this monarch, is equally famous for her beauty and infidelity. She had not lived above three years with her huſband, Menelaus, before ſhe was carried off by Paris, the ſon of Priam, king of Troy. This ſeems to be the firſt occaſion in which the Greeks united in one common cauſe. The Greeks took Troy, after a ten years ſiege, much about the time that Jephthah was the Judge in Iſrael.

A.M. 2820. Corinth began later than the other cities above-mentioned to be formed into a ſtate, or to be governed by its kings. It was at firſt ſubject to Argos and Mycænæ, but Si-

A.M. 2628. ſyphus, the ſon of Æolus, made himſelf maſter of it; and when his deſcendants were diſpoſſeſſed, Bacchis aſſumed the reins of power. The government after this became ariſtocratical, a chief magiſtrate being annually choſen by the name of Prytanis. At laſt Cypſelus, having gained the people, uſurped the ſupreme authority, which he tranſmitted to his ſon Periander, who was ranked among the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, from the love he bore to learning, and his encouragement of its profeſſors.

The kingdom of Macedonia was firſt governed by Caranus, deſcended from Hercules, and ſubſiſted

ſiſted from his time till the defeat of Perſeus by the Romans, a ſpace of ſix hundred and twenty ſix years.

Such is the picture Greece offers in its earlieſt infancy. A combination of little ſtates, each governed by its reſpective ſovereign, yet all uniting for their mutual ſafety and general advantage. Still, however, their inteſtine contentions were carried on with great animoſity; and, as it happens in all petty ſtates under the dominion of a ſingle commander, the jealouſies of the princes were a continual cauſe of diſcord. From this diſtreſsful ſituation thoſe ſtates, by degrees, began to emerge: a different ſpirit began to ſeize the people; and, ſick of the contentions of their princes, they deſired to be free. A ſpirit of liberty prevailed all over Greece, and a general change of government was effected in every part of the country, except in Macedonia. Thus monarchy gave way to a republican government, which, however, was diverſified into as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people.

All theſe cities, though ſeemingly different from each other in their laws and intereſts, were united with each other by one common language, one religion, and a national pride, that taught them to conſider

conſider all other nations as barbarous and feeble. Even Egypt itſelf, from whence they had derived many of their arts and inſtitutions, was conſidered in a very ſubordinate light, and rather as an half barbarous predeceſſor, than an enlightened rival.

To make this union among the ſtates of Greece ſtill ſtronger, there were games inſtituted in different parts of the country, with rewards for excellence in every purſuit. Theſe ſports were inſtituted for very ſerious and uſeful purpoſes; they afforded an opportunity for the ſeveral ſtates meeting together; they gave them a greater zeal for their common religion; they exerciſed the youth for the purpoſes of war, and increaſed that vigour and activity, which was then of the utmoſt importance in deciding the fate of a battle.

But their chief bond of union aroſe from the council of the Amphictyons, which was inſtituted by Amphictyon, king of Athens, as has been already mentioned, and was appointed to be held twice a year at Thermopylæ, to deliberate for the general good of thoſe ſtates of whoſe deputies it was compoſed. The ſtates who ſent deputies to this council were twelve, namely, the Theſſalians, the Thebans, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perhaabeans, the Magnates, the Locrians, the Oetans, the

the Pthiotes, the Maleans, the Phocians, and the Dolopians. Each of thoſe cities which had a right to aſſiſt at the Amphictyonic council, was obliged to ſend two deputies to every meeting. The one was entitled the Hieromnemon, who took care of the intereſts of religion; the other was called the Pylagoras, and had in charge the civil intereſts of his community. Each of theſe deputies, however differing in their functions, enjoyed an equal power of determining all affairs relative to the general intereſts of Greece. But, although the number of deputies ſeems to have been ſettled originally ſo as to anſwer the number of votes which each city was allowed, yet in proceſs of time, on ſome extraordinary occaſions, the principal cities aſſumed a power of ſending more than one Pylagoras to aſſiſt in a critical emergency, or to ſerve the purpoſes of a faction. When the deputies thus appointed, appeared to execute their commiſſion, after offering up ſacrifices to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva, they took an oath, implying, that they would never ſubvert any city of the Amphictyons, never ſtop the courſe of waters either in war or peace, and that they would oppoſe any attempts to leſſen the reverence and authority of the gods, to whom they had paid their adoration. Thus all offences againſt religion, all inſtances of impiety and profanation, all conteſts between the

Grecian ſtates and cities came under the particular cognizance of the Amphictyons, who had a right to determine, to impoſe fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war againſt thoſe who offered to rebel againſt their ſovereign authority.

Theſe different motives to confederacy united the Greeks for a time into a body of great power, and greater emulation. By this aſſociation, a country not half ſo large as England, was able to diſpute the empire of the earth with the moſt powerful monarchs of the world. By this aſſociation, they not only made head againſt the numerous armies of Perſia, but diſperſed, routed, and deſtroyed them, reducing their pride ſo low, as to make them ſubmit to conditions of peace as ſhameful to the conquered as glorious to the conquerors. But among all the cities of Greece, there were two, that by their merit, their valour, and their wiſdom, particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt: theſe were Athens and Lacedæmon. As theſe cities ſerved as an example of bravery or learning to the reſt, and as the chief burthen of every foreign war devolved upon them, it will be proper to enter upon their particular hiſtory with greater minuteneſs, and to give the reader ſome idea of the genius, character, manners, and government of their reſpective inhabitants.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Government of Sparta, and the Laws of Lycurgus.

ALTHOUGH the kingdom of Lacedæmon was not ſo conſiderable as that of Athens, yet as it was of much earlier inſtitution, it demands our firſt attention. Lacedæmon, as obſerved above, was in the beginning governed by kings, of which thirteen held the reins of power in ſucceſſion, of the race of the Pelopidæ. As during this dark interval there were no fixed laws to limit the prerogative, nor any ideas of true government among the people, it does not appear that there were any conſiderable encroachments made either on the ſide of the king or that of the people. Under the race of the Heraclidæ, who ſucceeded, inſtead of one king, the people admitted two, who governed with equal authority. The cauſe of this change ſeems to have ſprung from a very particular accident; for Ariſtodemus dying, left two ſons, Euryſthenes and Procles, twins, ſo much alike, that it was hardly poſſible to diſtinguiſh them aſunder. From hence the hint was taken

taken by the mother of fixing the crown upon both; ſo that when the Spartans came for a king, ſhe was either unwilling or unable to decide which of them was firſt born, or which had the juſteſt pretenſions. This form continued for ſeveral ſucceeding centuries, and though the one was almoſt ever at variance with his aſſociate on the throne, yet the government remained entire.

It was during this ſucceſſion that ſlavery was firſt inſtituted in Sparta. Euryſthenes and Procles having granted the countrymen of Sparta the ſame privileges with the citizens, Agis reverſed what his predeceſſors had done in favour of the peaſants, and impoſed a tribute upon them. The Helotes were the only people that would not acquieſce in this impoſt, but roſe in rebellion to vindicate their rights: the citizens, however, prevailed, the Helotes were ſubdued, and made priſoners of war. As a ſtill greater puniſhment, they and their poſterity were condemned to perpetual ſlavery; and, to increaſe their miſeries ſtill more, all other ſlaves were called by the general name of Helotes.

It would appear from hence, that this little ſtate was governed with turbulence and oppreſſion, and required the curb of ſevere laws and rigorous diſcipline. Theſe ſeverities and rigorous diſcipline were at laſt impoſed upon it by Lycurgus, one of the

the firſt and moſt extraordinary legiſlators that ever appeared among mankind. There is, perhaps, nothing more remarkable in profane hiſtory, yet nothing ſo well atteſted, as what relates to the laws and government of Lycurgus. What, indeed, can be more amazing, than to behold a mutinous and ſavage race of mankind yielding ſubmiſſion to laws that controuled every ſenſual pleaſure and every private affection; to behold them give up, for the good of the ſtate, all the comforts and conveniencies of private life, and making a ſtate of domeſtic privacy more ſevere and terrible than the moſt painful campaigns, and the moſt warlike duties. Yet all this was effected by the perſeverance and authority of a ſingle legiſlator, who gave the firſt leſſons of hard reſignation in his own generous example.

Lycurgus was the ſon of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. His elder brother Polydectes dying without iſſue, the right of ſucceſſion reſted in Lycurgus, who accordingly took the adminiſtration upon him. But an unexpected event came to interrupt his promotion; for the queen, his ſiſter-in-law, proving with child, his right became doubtful. A man of leſs probity would have uſed every precaution to ſecure himſelf upon the throne, and a propoſal which was made by the queen ſeemed to ſecure his

his pretenſions. She offered to deſtroy the birth, upon condition that he would marry her, and take her into a ſhare of power. Lycurgus wiſely ſmothered his reſentment at ſo unnatural a propoſal, and fearful that ſhe might uſe means to put her project in execution, aſſured her, that as ſoon as the child was born, he would take upon himſelf to remove it out of the way. Accordingly ſhe was delivered of a boy, which Lycurgus commanded to be brought to him, as he was at ſupper with the magiſtrates; to them he preſented the child as their king, and to teſtify his own and the people's joy, gave him the name of Charilaus. Thus Lycurgus ſacrificed his ambition to his duty; and ſtill more, continued his regency, not as king, but governor. However, dreading the reſentment of the queen, and finding the ſtate in great diſorder, he reſolved, by travelling, to avoid the dangers of the one, and to procure a remedy for the defects of the other.

Thus reſolving to make himſelf acquainted with all the improvements of other nations, and to conſult the moſt experienced perſons he could meet with in the art of government, he began with the iſland of Crete, whoſe hard and ſevere laws were very much admired. In this iſland the handicraft trades were brought to ſome degree of perfection. There they wrought in copper and iron, and made

armour, in which they danced with a confuſed noiſe of bells at the ſacrifices of their gods. It was from that the art of navigation was firſt known in Greece, and from them many legiſlators derived the principles of their reſpective inſtitutions.

From Crete Lycurgus paſſed over into Aſia, where he ſtill found new information, and is ſaid to have firſt made the diſcovery of the works of Homer. From thence he went into Egypt, and is ſaid by ſome to have had conferences with the gymnoſophiſts of India. But whilſt thus employed abroad, his preſence began to be greatly wanted at home. All parties conſpired to wiſh his coming, and many meſſages were ſent to haſten his return. The kings themſelves importuned him to that effect, and let him know, that the people were arrived at ſuch a pitch of diſorder, that nothing but his authority could controul their licentiouſneſs. In fact, every thing tended to the unavoidable deſtruction of the ſtate, and nothing but his preſence was wiſhed to check its increaſing diſſolution.

Lycurgus, at length perſuaded to return, found the people wearied out with their own importunities, and ready to receive any new impreſſions he might attempt. Wherefore the corruption being general, he found it neceſſary to change the whole form of the government; ſenſible that a few par-

ticular laws would produce no great effect. But conſidering the efficacy of religion in promoting every new inſtitution, he went firſt to conſult the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, where he met a reception that might flatter his higheſt ambition, for he was ſaluted by the prieſteſs as a friend of the gods, and rather as a god than man. As to his new inſtitution alſo, he was told that the gods heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to eſtabliſh would be the moſt excellent and durable upon earth.

Thus encouraged, on his return to Sparta, Lycurgus firſt communicated his deſigns to his particular friends, and then by degrees gained over the leading men to his party, until, things being ripe for a change, he ordered thirty of the principal men to appear armed in the market-place. Charilaus, who was at that time king, ſeemed at firſt willing to oppoſe this revolution, but being intimidated by a ſuperior force, he took ſhelter in the temple of Minerva; where, being prevailed upon by his ſubjects, and being alſo of a flexible temper, he came forth and joined the confederacy. The people ſoon acquieſced under a ſet of inſtitutions which were evidently calculated for their improvement, and gladly acknowledged ſubmiſſion to laws which leaned with equal weight upon every rank of ſociety.

To

To continue the KINGS ſtill with a ſhadow of power, he confirmed them in their right of ſucceſſion as before, but diminiſhed their authority by inſtituting a ſenate, which was to ſerve as a counterpoiſe between the prerogative and the people. They ſtill, however, had all their former marks of outward dignity and reſpect. They had the chief ſeats in every public aſſembly; in voting they were allowed to give their opinion firſt; they received ambaſſadors and ſtrangers, and overlooked public buildings and highways. In the field they were poſſeſſed of greater power, they conducted the armies of the ſtate, and were attended by judges, field-deputies, and a general of the horſe. However, they were not entirely at liberty even in war, as they received their orders from the ſenate; and though theſe were for the moſt part diſcretionary, yet they were ſometimes forced to march againſt the enemy, or to return home when they leaſt deſired to retreat.

The government hitherto had been unſteady, tending at one time towards deſpotiſm, at another to democracy; but the SENATE inſtituted by Lycurgus ſerved as a check upon both, and kept the ſtate balanced in tranquillity. This body, which was compoſed of twenty-eight members, founded their chief policy in ſiding with the kings when the people were graſping at too much power; and,

on the other hand, in eſpouſing the intereſts of the kings whenever the people attempted to carry their authority too far. The ſenators were compoſed of thoſe who aſſiſted Lycurgus in his deſigns, as well as of ſeveral of the citizens remarkable for their private virtues, but none were eligible till ſixty years of age. They were continued for life, except upon any notorious crime; and this, as it prevented the inconveniencies of too frequent a change, ſo it was a laſting reward to the old, and a noble incentive to the young. Theſe formed the ſupreme court of judicature; and though there lay an appeal from them to the people, yet as they were only convened at the pleaſure of the ſenate, and as the ſenators were not reſponſible for any wrong judgment, their decrees generally paſſed without a repeal. Indeed, for ſeveral ages, ſuch was the caution, and ſuch the integrity of this tribunal, that none ſeemed deſirous of ſeeking farther juſtice, and both parties acquieſced in the juſtice of their decree. However, the great power which the ſenate was thus poſſeſſed of, was about a century after tempered by the erection of a ſuperiour court, called the court of the EPHORI, which conſiſted of but five in number, and the members were choſen annually into their office. They were elected from the people, and a power of arreſting and impriſoning even the perſons of their

their kings, if they acted unbecoming their station.

The PEOPLE also had a nominal share in the government. They had their assemblies consisting of citizens only, and also their great convention of all persons who were free of the state. But this power of convening was but a mere matter of form, as the senate alone was permitted to call them together, and as it was in the option of that body to dismiss them at pleasure. The subject of deliberation was also to be of their proposal, while the people denied the privilege of debating or discussing, could only reject or ratify with laconic decision. To keep them still more helpless, they were left out of all offices of the state, and were considered merely as machines, which their wiser fellow-citizens were to conduct and employ.

So small a degree of power granted to the people, might be apt to destroy these institutions in their infancy: but to reconcile them to the change, Lycurgus boldly resolved to give them a share in those lands from whence, by the increasing riches of some, and the dissipation of others, they had been deprived. To keep the people in plenty and dependence, seems to have been one of the most refined strokes in this philosopher's legislation. The generality of the people were at that time so poor, that they were destitute of every

kind of poſſeſſion, whilſt a ſmall number of individuals were poſſeſſed of all the lands and the wealth of the country. In order, therefore, to baniſh the inſolence, the fraud, and the luxury of the one, as well as the miſery, the repining, and the factious deſpair of the others, he perſuaded the majority, and forced the reſt to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new diviſion of them, that they might all live together in perfect equality. Thus all the ſenſual goods of life were diſtributed among the governors and the governed, and ſuperior merit alone conferred ſuperior diſtinction.

Lycurgus accordingly divided all the lands of Laconia into thirty thouſand parts, and thoſe of Sparta into nine thouſand, and theſe he portioned out to the reſpective inhabitants of each diſtrict. Each portion was ſufficient to maintain a family in that frugal manner he propoſed; and, though the kings had a larger ſhare aſſigned them to ſupport their dignity, yet their tables had rather an air of decency and competency, than of ſuperfluity or profuſion. It is ſaid that ſome years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, obſerving how equally the corn was divided in all parts of the country, he was heard to obſerve ſmiling on thoſe next him, *Does not Laconia look like an eſtate which*

which ſeveral brothers have been dividing amongſt them?

But it would have anſwered no permanent purpoſe to divide the lands, if the money had been ſtill ſuffered to accumulate. To prevent therefore, all other diſtinction but that of merit, he reſolved to level down all fortune to one ſtandard. He did not, indeed, ſtrip thoſe poſſeſſed of gold or ſilver of their property; but, what was equivalent, he cried down its value, and ſuffered nothing but iron money to paſs in exchange for every commodity. This coin alſo he made ſo heavy, and fixed at ſo low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were required to carry home a ſum of ten minas, or about twenty pounds Engliſh, and a whole houſe was neceſſary to keep it in. This iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian ſtates, who, ſo far from eſteeming it, treated it with the utmoſt contempt and ridicule. From the neglect of foreigners, the Spartans themſelves began to deſpiſe it ſo, that money was at laſt brought into diſuſe, and few troubled themſelves with more than was ſufficient to ſupply their neceſſities. Thus not only riches, but their attendant train of avarice, fraud, rapine, and luxury, were baniſhed from this ſimple ſtate; and the people found in ignorance of riches, a happy ſub-

ſtitute for the want of thoſe refinements they beſtow.

But theſe inſtitutions were not thought ſufficient to prevent that tendency which mankind have to private exceſs. A third regulation was therefore made, commanding that all meals ſhould be in public. He ordained that all the men ſhould eat in one common hall without diſtinction; and leſt ſtrangers ſhould attempt to corrupt his citizens by their example, a law was expreſsly made againſt their continuance in the city. By theſe means frugality was not only made neceſſary, but the uſe of riches was at once aboliſhed. Every man ſent monthly his proviſions to the common ſtock, with a little money for other contingent expences. Theſe conſiſted of one buſhel of flour, eight meaſures of wine, five pounds of cheeſe, and two pounds and an half of figs. The tables conſiſted of fifteen perſons each, where none could be admitted but by the conſent of the whole company. Every one without exception of perſons was obliged to be at the common meal; and a long time after, when Agis returned from a ſucceſsful expedition, he was puniſhed and reprimanded for having eaten with his queen in private. The very children ate at theſe meals, and were carried thither as to a ſchool of temperance and wiſdom. At theſe homely repaſts no rude or immoral converſation

was permitted, no loquacious diſputes or oſtentatious talking. Each endeavoured to expreſs his ſentiments with the utmoſt perſpicuity and conciſeneſs; wit was admitted to ſeaſon the banquet, and ſecrecy to give it ſecurity. As ſoon as a young man came into the room, the oldeſt man in the company uſed to ſay to him, pointing to the door, *Nothing ſpoken here muſt go that way.* Black broth was their favourite diſh, of what ingredients it was made is not known, but they uſed no fleſh in their entertainments; it probably reſembled thoſe lenten ſoups which are ſtill in uſe on the continent. Dionyſius, the tyrant, found their fare very unpalatable; but, as the cook aſſerted, the broth was nothing without the ſeaſoning of fatigue and hunger.

An injunction ſo rigorous, which thus cut off all the delicacies and refinements of luxury, was by no means pleaſing to the rich, who took every occaſion to inſult the lawgiver upon his new regulations. The tumults it excited were frequent: and in one of theſe, a young fellow whoſe name was Alexander, ſtruck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. But he had the majority of the people on his ſide, who, provoked at the outrage, delivered the young man into his hands to treat him with all proper ſeverity. Lycurgus, inſtead of teſtifying any brutal reſentment, won over his aggreſſor by all the

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arts of affability and tenderneſs, till at laſt, from being one of the proudeſt and moſt turbulent men of Sparta, he became an example of wiſdom and moderation, and an uſeful aſſiſtant to Lycurgus in promoting his new inſtitutions.

Thus, undaunted by oppoſition, and ſteady in his deſigns, he went on to make reformation in the manners of his countrymen. As the education of youth was one of the moſt important objects of a legiſlator's care, he took care to inſtil ſuch early principles, that children ſhould in a manner be born with a ſenſe of order and diſcipline. His grand principle was, that children were properly the poſſeſſion of the ſtate, and belonged to the community more than to their parents. To this end he began from the very time of their conception, making it the mother's duty to uſe ſuch diet and exerciſe, as might fit her to produce a vigorous and healthy offſpring. As during this period, all inſtitutions were tinctured with the ſavageneſs of the times, it is not wonderful that Lycurgus ordained that all ſuch children as, upon a public view, were deemed deformed or weakly, and unfitted for a future life of vigour and fatigue, ſhould be expoſed to periſh in a cavern near mount Taygetus. This was conſidered as a public puniſhment upon the mother, and it

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was thought the readieſt way to lighten the ſtate of a future encumbrance.

Thoſe infants that were born without any capital defects were adopted as children of the ſtate, and delivered to their parents to be nurſed with ſeverity and hardſhip. From their tendereſt age they were accuſtomed to make no choice in their eating, not to be afraid in the dark, or when left alone, not to be peeviſh or fretful, to walk barefoot, to lie hard at nights, to wear the ſame clothes winter and ſummer, and to fear nothing from their equals. At the age of ſeven years they were taken from their parents, and delivered over to the claſſes for a public education. Their diſcipline there was little elſe than an apprenticeſhip to hardſhip, ſelf-denial, and obedience. In theſe claſſes, one of the boys more advanced and experienced than the reſt, preſided as captain to govern and chaſtiſe the refractory. Their very ſports and exerciſes were regulated according to the exacteſt diſcipline, and made up of labour and fatigue. They went barefoot, with their heads ſhaved, and fought with one another naked. While they were at table it was uſual for the maſters to inſtruct the boys, by aſking them queſtions concerning the nature of moral actions, or the different merits of the moſt noted men of the time. The boys were obliged to give a quick and ready anſwer, which

which was to be accompanied with his reaſons in the conciſeſt manner, for a Spartan's language was as ſparing as his money was ponderous and bulky. All oſtentatious learning was baniſhed from this ſimple commonwealth; their only ſtudy was to obey, their only pride was to ſuffer hardſhip. Every art was practiſed to harden them againſt adventitious danger. There was yearly a cuſtom of whipping them at the altar of Diana, and the boy that bore this puniſhment with the greateſt fortitude came off victorious. This was inflicted publicly before the eyes of their parents, and in the preſence of the whole city; and many were known to expire under the ſeverity of the diſcipline without uttering a ſingle groan. Even their own fathers, when they ſaw them covered with blood and wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to perſevere to the end with conſtancy and reſolution. Plutarch, who ſays that he has ſeen ſeveral children expire under this cruel treatment, tells us of one who having ſtolen a fox, and hid it under his coat, choſe rather to let it tear out his very bowels than diſcover the theft.

Every inſtitution ſeemed calculated to harden the body, and ſharpen the mind for war. In order to prepare them for ſtratagems and ſudden incurſions, the boys were permitted to ſteal from each other; but if they were caught in the fact, they

they were punished for their want of dexterity. Such a permission, therefore, was little better than a prohibition of theft, since the punishment followed, as at present, in case of detection. In fact, by this institution, negligence in the possessor was made justly liable to the loss of his possessions, a consideration which has not been sufficiently attended to by subsequent legislators.

At twelve years old the boys were removed into another class of a more advanced kind. There, in order to crush the seeds of vice, which at that time began to appear, their labour and discipline were increased with their age. There they had their instructor from among the men called Pædonomi, and under him the Iræns, young men selected from their own body, to exercise a more constant and immediate command over them. They had now their skirmishes between parties, and their mock fights between larger bodies. In these they often fought with hands, feet, teeth, and nails, with such obstinacy, that it was common to see them lose their eyes, and often their lives, before the fray was determined. Such was the constant discipline of their minority, which lasted till the age of thirty, before which they were not permitted to marry, to go into the troops, or to bear any office in the state.

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With regard to the virgins, their diſcipline was equally ſtrict with the former. They were inured to a conſtant courſe of labour and induſtry until they were twenty years old, before which time they were not allowed to be marriageable. They alſo had their peculiar exerciſes. They ran, wreſtled, pitched the bar, and performed all theſe feats naked before the whole body of the citizens. Yet this was thought no way indecent, as it was ſuppoſed that the frequent view of the perſon would rather check than excite every looſer appetite. An education ſo manlike did not fail to produce in the Spartan women correſponding ſentiments. They were bold, frugal and patriotic, filled with a ſenſe of honour, and a love of military glory. Some foreign women in converſation with the wife of Leonidas ſaying, that the Spartan women alone knew how to govern the men, ſhe boldly replied, the Spartan women alone bring forth men. A mother was known to give her ſon, who was going to battle, his ſhield, with this remarkable advice, *Return with it, or return upon it.* Implying, that rather than throw it from him in flight, he ſhould be borne upon it dead to his friends in Sparta. Another hearing that her ſon was killed fighting for his country, ſhe anſwered without any emotion, it was for that I brought him into the world. After the battle of Leuctra, the parents of thoſe who

who died in the action, went to the temples to thank the gods that their ſons had done their duty, while thoſe whoſe children ſurvived that dreadful day ſeemed inconſoleable.

Yet it muſt not be concealed, that in a city where the women were inſpired with ſuch a paſſion for military glory, they were not equally remarkable for connubial fidelity. In fact, there was no law againſt adultery, and an exchange of huſbands was often actually practiſed among them. This was always indeed by the mutual conſent of parties, which removed the tedious ceremonies of a divorce. One reaſon aſſigned for allowing this mutual liberty, was not ſo much to gratify licentious deſire, as to improve the breed of citizens, by matching ſuch as were poſſeſſed of mutual inclination. In fact, in many of the laws of Lycurgus he ſeems to admit, that private vices may become public benefits, and this among the number.

Beſides theſe conſtitutional reſolutions, there were many other general maxims laid down, that obtained the force of laws among them. They were forbid to exerciſe any mechanic art. The chief occupation of the Spartans was bodily exerciſes or hunting. The Helots who had loſt their liberty ſome centuries before, and who had been condemned to perpetual ſlavery, tilled their lands for

for them, receiving for their labour a bare ſubſiſtence. The citizens thus poſſeſſed of competence and leiſure, were moſtly in company in their large common halls, where they met and converſed together. They paſſed little of their time alone, being accuſtomed to live like bees, always together, always attentive to their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and the public good was their predominant paſſion, and all ſelf-intereſt was loſt in the general wiſh for the welfare of the community. Pedarctus having miſſed the honour of being choſen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank in the city, converted his diſappointment into joy, *that there were three hundred better men in Sparta than he.*

Among the maxims of this legiſlator, it was forbidden them to make frequent war upon the ſame enemies. By this inhibition they were reſtrained from laſting and immoderate reſentment, they were in no danger of teaching their diſcipline to thoſe they made war upon, and all their alliances were thus more frequently renewed.

Whenever they had broken and routed their enemies, they never purſued them farther than was neceſſary to make themſelves ſure of the victory. They thought it ſufficiently glorious to overcome, and were aſhamed of deſtroying an enemy that yielded or fled. Nor was this without anſwering

anſwering ſome good purpoſes; for the enemy, conſcious that all who reſiſted were put to the ſword, often fled, as they were convinced that ſuch a conduct was the ſureſt means of obtaining ſafety. Thus valour and generoſity ſeemed the ruling motives of this new inſtitution; arms were their only exerciſe and employment, and their life was much leſs auſtere in the camp than the city. The Spartans were the only people in the world to whom the time of war was a time of eaſe and refreſhment; becauſe then the ſeverity of their manners was relaxed, and the men were indulged in greater liberties. With them the firſt and moſt violable law of war was, never to turn their backs on the enemy, however diſproportioned in forces, nor to deliver up their arms until they reſigned them with life. When the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, he was obliged to quit the city, for having aſſerted in one of his poems, that it was better for a man to loſe his arms than his life. Thus reſolved upon conqueſt or death, they went calmly forward with all the confidence of ſucceſs, ſure of meeting a glorious victory, or, what they valued equally, a noble death.

Thus depending upon their valour alone for ſafety, their legiſlator forbid walling the city. It was his maxim, that a wall of men was preferable to a wall of brick, and that confined valour was

ſcarce preferable to cowardice. Indeed a city, in which were thirty thouſand fighting men, ſtood in little need of walls to protect it; and we have ſcarce an inſtance in hiſtory of their ſuffering themſelves to be driven to their laſt retreats. War and its honours was their employment and ambition; their Helotes, or ſlaves, tilled their grounds, and did all their ſervile drudgery. Theſe unhappy men were, in a manner, bound to the ſoil; it was not lawful to ſell them to ſtrangers, or to make them free. If at any time their increaſe became inconvenient, or created a ſuſpicion in their fierce maſters, there was a *cryptia*, or *ſecret act*, by which they were permitted to deſtroy them. From this barbarous ſeverity, however, Lycurgus is acquitted by Plutarch; but it is plain, that his inſtitutions were not ſufficient to reſtrain the people from ſuch baſeneſs and cruelty. It was by this act allowed for ſeveral companies of young men to go out of the city by day, and, concealing themſelves in the thickets, to ruſh out in the night upon their ſlaves, and kill all they could find in their way. Thucydides relates, that two thouſand of theſe ſlaves diſappeared at once, without ever after being heard of. It is truly amazing, how a people like the Spartans, renowned for lenity to the conquered, for ſubmiſſion to their ſuperiors, for reverence to old age, and friendſhip for

for each other, ſhould yet be ſo very brutal to thoſe beneath them; to men that ought to be conſidered, in every reſpect, as their equals, as their countrymen, and only degraded by an unjuſt uſurpation. Yet nothing is more certain than their cruel treatment: they were not only condemned to the moſt ſervile occupations, but often deſtroyed without reaſon. They were frequently made drunk, and expoſed before the children, in order to deter them from ſo brutal a ſpecies of debauchery.

Such was the general purport of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which, from their tendency, gained the eſteem and admiration of all the ſurrounding nations. The Greeks were ever apt to be dazzled rather with ſplendid than uſeful virtues, and praiſed the laws of Lycurgus, which at beſt were calculated rather to make men warlike than happy, and to ſubſtitute inſenſibility inſtead of enjoyment. If conſidered in a political light, the city of Lacedæmon was but a military garriſon, ſupported by the labour of a numerous peaſantry that were ſlaves. The laws by which they were governed are not much more rigorous than many of the military inſtitutions of modern princes; the ſame labour, the ſame diſcipline, the ſame poverty, and the ſame ſubordination, is found in many of the garriſoned towns of Europe, that prevailed

for ſo many centuries in Sparta. The only difference that appears to me between a ſoldier of Lacedæmon and a ſoldier in garriſon at Gravelin, is, that the one was permitted to marry at thirty, and the other is obliged to continue ſingle all his life; the one lives in the midſt of a civilized country, which he is ſuppoſed to protect; the other lived in the midſt of a number of civilized ſtates, which he had no inclination to offend. War is equally the trade of both; and a campaign is frequently a relaxation from the more rigorous confinement of garriſon duty.

When Lycurgus had thus completed his military inſtitution, and when the form of government he had eſtabliſhed ſeemed ſtrong and vigorous enough to ſupport itſelf, his next care was to give it all the permanence in his power. He therefore ſignified to the people, that ſomething ſtill remained for the completion of his plan; and that he was under a neceſſity of going to conſult the oracle at Delphos, for its advice. In the mean time, he perſuaded them to take an oath for the ſtrict obſervance of all his laws till his return, and then departed with a full reſolution of never ſeeing Sparta more. When he was arrived at Delphos, he conſulted the oracle, to know whether the laws he had made were ſufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy; and being anſwered that

that nothing was wanting to their perfection, he ſent this anſwer to Sparta, and then voluntarily ſtarved himſelf to death. Others ſay, that he died in Crete, ordering his body to be burnt, and his aſhes to be thrown into the ſea. The death of this great lawgiver gave a ſanction and authority to his laws, which his life was unable to confer. The Spartans regarded his end as the moſt glorious of all his actions, and a noble finiſhing of all his former ſervices: they built a temple, and paid divine honours to him after his death; they conſidered themſelves as bound by every tie of gratitude and religion to a ſtrict obſervance of all his inſtitutions; and the long continuance of the Spartan government is a proof of their perſevering reſolution.

The city of Lacedæmon, thus inſtituted, ſeemed only deſirous of an opportunity of diſplaying the ſuperiority of their power among the neighbouring ſtates, their rivals. The war between them and the Meſſenians, ſoon taught them to know the advantages of their military inſtitution; but as I am haſtening to more important events, I will touch upon this as conciſely as I can. There was a temple of Diana common to the Meſſenians and Lacedæmonians, ſtanding upon the borders of either kingdom. It was there that the Meſſenians were accuſed of attempting the chaſtity of ſome Spartan virgins, and of killing Teleclus, one

of the Spartan kings, who interpoſed in their defence. The Meſſenians, on the other hand, denied the charge; and averred, that thoſe ſuppoſed virgins were young men thus dreſſed up, with daggers under their cloaths, and placed there by Teleclus, with an intent to ſurpriſe them. To the mutual reſentment occaſioned by this, another cauſe of animoſity was ſoon after added: Polychares, a Meſſenian, who had won the prize in the Olympic games, let out ſome cows to paſture to Euphænus, a Lacedæmonian, who was to pay himſelf for their keeping with a ſhare of the increaſe. Euphænus ſold the cows, and pretended they were ſtolen from him. Polychares ſent his ſon to demand the money; but the Lacedæmonian, to aggravate his crime, killed the young man, and perſuaded his countrymen to give no redreſs. Polychares, therefore, undertook to do himſelf juſtice, and killed all the Lacedæmonians that came in his way. Expoſtulations paſſed between both kingdoms, till at laſt the affair came to a general war, which was carried on for many years with doubtful ſucceſs. In this ſituation the Meſſenians ſent to conſult the oracle of Delphos, who required the ſacrifice of a virgin of the family of Æpytus. Upon caſting lots among the deſcendants of this prince, the chance fell upon the daughter of Lyciſcus; but being thought to

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be ſuppoſititious, Ariſtodemus offered his daughter, whom all allowed to be his own. Her lover, however, attempted to avert the blow, by aſſerting, that ſhe was with child by him; but her father was ſo enraged, that he ripped up her belly with his own hand, publicly, to vindicate her innocence. The enthuſiaſm which this ſacrifice produced, ſerved for a while to give the Meſſenians the advantage; but being at laſt overthrown and beſieged in the city of Ithoe, Ariſtodemus, finding all things deſperate, ſlew himſelf upon his daughter's grave. With him fell the kingdom of Meſſenia; not without a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, and many a defeat of the Spartan army, which they held thus engaged for above twenty years. Nor muſt we omit one memorable tranſaction of the Lacedæmonians during this war: having drained their city of all its male inhabitants, and obliged themſelves by oath not to return until their deſigns were accompliſhed; their women, in the mean time, remonſtrated, that from their long abſence all poſterity would be at an end. To remedy this inconvenience, they detached fifty of their moſt promiſing young men from the army to go to Sparta, and to lie promiſcuouſly with all the young women they fancied. The offſpring of theſe virgins were from them called Partheniæ, who finding themſelves contemned and A. M. 3280.

flighted by the Spartans on their return, as a ſpurious brood, joined ſome years after in an inſurrection with the Helotes, but were ſoon ſuppreſſed. Being expelled the ſtate, they went under the conduct of their captain, Philantus, and ſettled at Tarentum, in Italy.

After a rigorous ſubjection of thirty-nine years, the Meſſenians once more made a vigorous ſtruggle for freedom, being headed by Ariſtomenes, a young man of great courage and capacity. The ſucceſs of the firſt engagement was doubtful, and the Lacedæmonians being adviſed by the oracle to ſend for a general from among the Athenians, this politic ſtate ſent them Tyrtæus, a poet and ſchoolmaſter, whoſe chief buſineſs was to harangue and repeat his own verſes. The Spartans were little pleaſed with their new leader, but their veneration for the oracle kept them obedient to his commands. Their ſucceſs, however, did not ſeem to improve with their duty: they ſuffered a defeat from Ariſtomenes, who, loſing his ſhield in the purſuit, their total overthrow was prevented. A ſecond and a third defeat followed ſoon after; ſo that the Lacedæmonians, quite diſpirited, had thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms. But Tyrtæus ſo enflamed them by his orations and ſongs in praiſe of military glory, that they reſolved upon another

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another battle, in which they were victorious; and ſoon after Ariſtomenes was taken priſoner in a ſkirmiſh, with fifty of his followers.

The adventures of this hero deſerve our notice.—Being carried priſoner to Sparta, he was thrown into a deep dungeon, which had been uſed for the execution of malefactors, and his fifty ſoldiers with him. They were all killed by the fall, except Ariſtomenes, who finding a wild beaſt at the bottom preying upon a carcaſe, ſecuring the animal's mouth, he continued to hold by the tail, until the beaſt made directly to its hole. There finding the iſſue too narrow, he was obliged to let go his hold; but following the track with his eye, he perceived a glimmering from above, and at length wrought his way out. After this extraordinary eſcape, he repaired immediately to his troops, and at their head made a ſucceſsful ſally, by night, againſt the Corinthian forces. Nevertheleſs, he was once more, ſhortly after, taken by ſome Cretans; but his keepers being made drunk, he ſtabbed them with their own daggers, and returned to his forces. But his ſingle valour was not ſufficient to avert the ruin of his country; although, with his own ſingle proweſs, he had thrice earned the Hecatomphonia, a ſacrifice due to thoſe who had killed one hundred of the enemy hand to hand in battle, yet the body of his forces

being ſmall, and fatigued with continual duty, the city of Eira, which he defended, was taken, and the Meſſenians were obliged to take refuge with Anaxilas, a prince of Sicily. As for Tyrtæus, the Lacedæmonians made him free of their city, which was the higheſt honour they had in their power to beſtow. By the acceſſion of the Meſſenian country to the territory of Sparta, this ſtate became one of the moſt powerful of all Greece; and was ſecond only to Athens, which ſtate it always conſidered with an eye of jealouſy.

A. M. 3340.

CHAP. III.

Of the Government of Athens, the Laws of Solon, and the History of the Republic from the Time of Solon to the Commencement of the Persian War.

WE now return to Athens. Codrus, the laſt king of this ſtate, having devoted himſelf for the good of his country, a magiſtrate, under the title of Archon, was appointed to ſucceed him. The firſt who bore this office was Medon, the ſon of the late king, who, being oppoſed by his brother Nileus, was preferred by the oracle, and

and accordingly inveſted with his new dignity. This magiſtracy was at firſt for life; it was ſoon after reduced to a period of ten years, and at laſt became annual; and in this ſtate it continued for near three hundred years. During this inactive government, little offers to adorn the page of hiſtory: the ſpirit of extenſive dominion had not as yet entered into Greece; and the citizens were too much employed in their private intrigues to attend to foreign concerns. Athens, therefore, continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power; content with ſafety amidſt the contending intereſts of aſpiring potentates and factious citizens.

A deſire of being governed by written laws, at laſt made way for a new change in government. For more than a century they had ſeen the good effects of laws in the regulation of the Spartan commonwealth; and, as they were a more enlightened people, they expected greater advantages from a new inſtitution. In the choice, therefore, of a legiſlator, they pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wiſdom and unſhaken integrity, but rigid, even beyond human ſufferance. It does not appear that any ſtate of Greece was poſſeſſed of written laws before his time. However, he was not afraid to enact the moſt ſevere laws, which laid the ſame penalties on the moſt atrocious and the moſt trifling offences, A.M. 3380.

offences. Theſe laws puniſhed all crimes with death, and are ſaid not to be written with ink, but with blood. This legiſlator being aſked why he puniſhed moſt offences with death? replied, *Small crimes deſerve death*, and I have no higher for the greateſt. But the exceſſive ſeverity of his laws prevented them from being juſtly adminiſtered. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compaſſion for the accuſed when his fault was not equal to his ſuffering, the unwillingneſs of witneſſes to exact too cruel an atonement, their fears alſo of the reſentment of the people; all theſe conſpired to render the laws obſolete before they could well be put into execution. Thus the new laws counteracted their own purpoſes, and their exceſſive rigour paved the way for the moſt dangerous impunity.

It was in this diſtreſsful ſtate of the commonwealth that Solon was applied to for his advice and aſſiſtance, as the wiſeſt and the juſteſt man of all Athens. His great learning had acquired him the reputation of being the firſt of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, and his known humanity procured him the love and veneration of every rank among his fellow citizens. Solon was a native of Salamis, an iſland dependent on Athens, but which had revolted, to put itſelf under the power of the Megareans. In attempting to recover this iſland, the

the Athenians had ſpent much blood and treaſure, until at laſt, wearied out with ſuch ill ſucceſs, a law was made, rendering it capital ever to adviſe the recovery of their loſt poſſeſſion. Solon, however, undertook to perſuade them to another trial; and feigning himſelf mad, ran about the ſtreets, uſing the moſt violent geſtures and language; but the purport of all was, to upbraid the Athenians for their remiſſneſs and effeminacy, in giving up their conqueſts in deſpair. In ſhort, he acted his part ſo well, by the oddity of his manner, and the ſtrength of his reaſoning, that the people reſolved upon another expedition againſt Salamis; and, by a ſtratagem of his contrivance, in which he introduced ſeveral young men upon the iſland in women's cloaths, the place was ſurpriſed, and added to the domiſion of Athens.

But this was not the only occaſion on which he exhibited ſuperior addreſs and wiſdom. At a time when Greece had carried the arts of eloquence, poetry, and government, higher than they had yet been ſeen among mankind, Solon was conſidered as one of the foremoſt in each perfection. The ſages of Greece, whoſe fame is ſtill undiminiſhed, acknowledged his merit, and adopted him as their aſſociate. The correſpondence between theſe wiſe men was at once inſtructive, friendly, and ſincere. They were ſeven in number, namely,

Thales

Thales the Mileſian, Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedæmon, Pittacus of Mitylene, Periander of Corinth, Bias and Cleobulus, whoſe birth-places are not aſcertained. Thoſe ſages often viſited each other, and their converſations generally turned upon the methods of inſtituting the beſt form of government, or the arts of private happineſs. One day when Solon went to Miletos to ſee Thales, the firſt thing he ſaid, was to expreſs his ſurprize that Thales had never deſired to marry, or have children. Thales made him no anſwer then; but, a few days after, he contrived that a ſtranger, ſuppoſed to arrive from Athens, ſhould join their company. Solon hearing from whence the ſtranger came, was inquiſitive after the news of his own city; but was only informed that a young man died there, for whom the whole place was in the greateſt affliction, as he was reputed the moſt promiſing youth in all Athens. Alas! cried Solon, how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied!—pray, what is his name? I heard the name, replied the ſtranger, (who was inſtructed for the occaſion) but I have forgot it: I only remember that all people talked much of his wiſdom and juſtice. Every anſwer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to the inquiſitive father, and he had juſt ſtrength enough to aſk, if the youth was the ſon of Solon? The very ſame, replied

the ſtranger; at which words Solon ſhewed all the marks of the moſt inconſolable diſtreſs. This was the opportunity which Thales wanted, who took him by the hand, and ſaid to him, with a ſmile, Comfort yourſelf, my friend; all that has been told you is a mere fiction, but may ſerve as a very proper anſwer to your queſtion, why I never thought proper to marry.

One day, at the court of Periander, of Corinth, a queſtion was propoſed, which was the moſt perfect popular government? That, ſaid Bias, where the laws have no ſuperior. That, ſaid Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too rich or too poor. That, ſaid Anacharſis, the Scythian, where virtue is honoured and vice deteſted. That, ſaid Pittacus, where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the baſe. That, ſaid Cleobulus, where the citizens fear blame more than puniſhment. That, ſaid Chilo, where the laws are more regarded than the orators. But Solon's opinion ſeems to have the greateſt weight, who ſaid, where an injury done to the meaneſt ſubject is an inſult upon the whole conſtitution.

Upon a certain occaſion, when Solon was converſing with Anacharſis, the Scythian philoſopher, about his intended reformations in the ſtate; "Alas," cried the Scythian, "all your laws will be found "to reſemble ſpiders webs; the weak and ſmall "flies

"flies will be caught and entangled, but the great "and powerful will always have ſtrength enough "to break through."

Solon's interview with Crœſus, king of Lydia, is ſtill more celebrated. This monarch, who was reputed the richeſt of all Aſia Minor, was willing to make an oſtentatious diſplay of his wealth before the Greek philoſopher; and after ſhewing him immenſe heaps of treaſure, and the greateſt variety of other ornaments, he demanded, whether he did not think the poſſeſſor the moſt happy of all mankind. No, replied Solon: I know one man more happy; a poor peaſant of Greece, who neither in affluence or poverty has but few wants, and has learned to ſupply them by his labour. This anſwer was by no means agreeable to the vain monarch, who by his queſtion only hoped for a reply that would tend to flatter his pride. Willing, therefore, to extort one ſtill more favourable, he aſked, whether at leaſt he did not think him happy? Alas, cried Solon, what man can be pronounced happy before he dies? The integrity and the wiſdom of Solon's replies appeared in the event. The kingdom of Lydia was invaded by Cyrus, the empire deſtroyed, and Crœſus himſelf was taken priſoner. When he was led out to execution, according to the barbarous manners of the times, he then, too late, recollected

collected the maxims of Solon, and could not help crying out, when on the ſcaffold, upon Solon's name. Cyrus hearing him repeat the name with great earneſtneſs, was deſirous of knowing the reaſon; and being informed by Crœſus of that philoſopher's remarkable obſervation, he began to fear for himſelf; pardoned Crœſus, and took him for the future into confidence and friendſhip. Thus Solon had the merit of ſaving one king's life, and of reforming another.

Such was the man to whom the Athenians applied for aſſiſtance in reforming the ſeverity of their government, and inſtituting a juſt body of laws. Athens was at that time divided into as many factions, as there were different ſorts of inhabitants in Attica. Thoſe that lived upon the mountains were fond of exact equality; thoſe that lived in the low country were for the dominion of a few; and thoſe that dwelt on the ſea coaſts, and were conſequently addicted to commerce, were for keeping thoſe parties ſo exactly balanced, as to permit neither to prevail. But, beſides theſe, there was a fourth party, and that by much the moſt numerous, conſiſting wholly of the poor, who were grievouſly haraſſed and oppreſſed by the rich, and loaded with debts which they were not able to diſcharge. This unhappy party, which when they know their own ſtrength, muſt ever prevail, were now determined to throw off the yoke

of their oppreſſors, and to chuſe themſelves a chief who ſhould make a reformation in government, by making a new diviſion of lands.

As Solon had never ſided with either, he was regarded as the refuge of all; the rich liking him becauſe he was rich, and the poor becauſe he was honeſt. Though he was at firſt unwilling to undertake ſo dangerous an employment, he at laſt ſuffered himſelf to be choſen archon, and to be conſtituted ſupreme legiſlator with the unanimous conſent of all. This was a ſituation in which nothing could be added to his power, yet many of the citizens adviſed him to make himſelf king, but he had too much wiſdom to ſeek after a name which would render him obnoxious to many of his fellow citizens, while he was, in fact, poſſeſſed of more than regal authority. *A tyranny*, he would ſay, *reſembles a fair garden; it is a beautiful ſpot while we are within, but it wants a way to get out at.*

Rejecting, therefore, the wiſh of royalty, he reſolved upon ſettling a form of government that ſhould be founded on the baſis of juſt and reaſonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain diſorders which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations but ſuch as were apparently reaſonable to the meaneſt capacity. In ſhort, it was his aim to give the Athenians not the beſt of poſſible conſtitutions, but the very beſt they were capable of receiving.

ceiving. His firſt attempt was, therefore, in favour of the poor, whoſe debts he aboliſhed at once, by an expreſs law of inſolvency. But to do this with the leaſt injury he could to the creditor, he raiſed the value of money in a moderate proportion, by which he nominally increaſed their riches. But his management on this occaſion had like to have had very dangerous conſequences, for ſome of his friends, to whom the ſcheme had been previouſly communicated, took up vaſt ſums of money while it was low, in order to be poſſeſſed of the difference when it became of greater value. Solon himſelf was ſuſpected of having a hand in this fraud; but, to wipe off all ſuſpicion, he remitted his debtors five, or, as others ſay, fifteen talents, and thus regained the confidence of the people.

His next ſtep was to repeal all the laws enacted by Draco, except thoſe againſt murder. He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magiſtracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich. He diſtributed the rich citizens into three claſſes, ranging them according to their incomes. Thoſe that were found to have five hundred meaſures yearly, as well in corn as liquids, were placed in the firſt rank; thoſe that had three hundred were placed in the ſecond; and thoſe that had but two hundred made up the third. All the reſt of the citizens whoſe income fell ſhort

of two hundred measures were comprised in a fourth and last class, and were considered as unqualified for any employment whatever. But to compensate for this exclusion, he gave every private citizen a privilege of voting in the great assembly of the whole body of the state. This, indeed, at first might appear a concession of small consequence, but it was soon found to contain very solid advantages; for, by the laws of Athens, it was permitted, after the determination of the magistrates, to appeal to the general assembly of the people, and thus, in time, all causes of weight and moment came before them.

In some measure to counteract the influence of a popular assembly, he gave greater weight to the court of Areopagus, and also instituted another council, consisting of four hundred. The Areopagus, so called from the place where the court was held, had been established some centuries before, but Solon restored and augmented its authority. To this court was committed the care of causing the laws to be observed and put in execution. Before his time the citizens of the greatest probity and justice were made judges of that tribunal. Solon was the first who thought it convenient that none should be honoured with that dignity but such as had passed through the office of archon. Nothing was so august as this court, and its reputation for judgment and integrity became

came so very great, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal. Nothing was regarded here but truth: that no external objects might pervert justice, the tribunal was held in darkness, and the advocates were denied all attempts to work upon the passions of the judges. Superior to this, Solon instituted the great council of four hundred, who were to judge upon appeals from the Areopagus, and maturely to examine every question before it came to be debated in a general assembly of the people.

Such was the reformation in the general institutions for the good of the state: his particular laws for dispensing justice were more numerous. In the first place, all persons who in public dissentions and differences espoused neither party, but continued to act with a blameable neutrality, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual punishment, and to have all their estates confiscated. Nothing could more induce mankind to a spirit of patriotism than this celebrated law. A mind thus obliged to take part in public concerns, learns, from habit, to make those concerns its principal care, and self interest quickly sinks before them. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man as an enemy that should appear indifferent and unconcerned in the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state

with a quick and general reſource in every dangerous emergency.

He next permitted every particular perſon to eſpouſe the quarrel of any one that was injured or inſulted. By this means every perſon in the ſtate became the enemy of him who did wrong, and the turbulent thus were overpowered by the number of their opponents.

He aboliſhed the cuſtom of giving portions in marriage with young women, unleſs they were only daughters. The bride was to carry no other fortune to her huſband than three ſuits of cloaths, and ſome houſhold goods of little value. It was his aim to prevent making matrimony a traffic: he conſidered it as an honourable connexion, calculated for the mutual happineſs of both parties, and the general advantage of the ſtate.

Before this lawgiver's time the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills, but the wealth of the deceaſed naturally, and of courſe, devolved upon his children. Solon allowed every one that was childleſs to diſpoſe of his whole eſtate as he thought fit; preferring, by that means, friendſhip to kindred, and choice to neceſſity and conſtraint. From this inſtitution the bond between the parents and children became more ſolid and firm: it confirmed the juſt authority of the one, and increaſed the neceſſary dependence of the other.

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He made a regulation to leſſen the rewards to the victors at the Olympic and Iſthmian games. He conſidered it as unjuſt, that a ſet of idle people, generally uſeleſs, often dangerous to the ſtate, ſhould receive thoſe rewards which ſhould go to the deſerving. He wiſhed to ſee thoſe emoluments go to the widows and families of ſuch as fell in the ſervice of their country, and to make the ſtipend of the ſtate honourable, by being conferred only on the brave.

To encourage induſtry, the Areopagus was charged with the care of examining into every man's method of living, and of chaſtiſing all who led an idle life. The unemployed were conſidered as a ſet of dangerous and turbulent ſpirits, eager after innovation, and hoping to mend their fortunes from the plunder of the ſtate. To diſcountenance all idleneſs, therefore, a ſon was not obliged to ſupport his father in old age or neceſſity, if the latter had neglected giving him ſome trade or occupation. All illegitimate children were alſo exempted from the ſame duty, as they owed little to their parents, except an indelible reproach.

It was forbidden to revile any one in public: the magiſtrates, who were not eligible till thirty, were to be particularly circumſpect in their behaviour, and it was even death for an archon to be taken drunk. It is obſervable, that he made no

law againſt parricide, as ſuppoſing it a crime that could never exiſt in any community.

With regard to women, he permitted any man to kill an adulterer, if he was taken in the fact. He allowed of public brothels, but prohibited mercenary proſtitutes from keeping company with modeſt women; and, as a badge of diſtinction, to wear flowered garments. The men alſo who were notorious for frequenting their company were not allowed to ſpeak in public; and he who forced a woman incurred a very heavy fine.

Theſe were the chief inſtitutions of this celebrated lawgiver; and although neither ſo ſtriking, nor yet ſo well authoriſed as thoſe of Lycurgus, they did not fail to operate for ſeveral ſucceeding ages, and ſeemed to gather ſtrength by obſervance. As theſe laws became the baſis of Roman juriſprudence, which has ſince been received almoſt throughout Europe, under the name of the civil law, it may be affirmed that many of Solon's inſtitutes are yet in force. After he had framed theſe inſtitutions, his next care was to give them ſuch notoriety that none could plead ignorance. To this end tranſcripts of them were publicly hung up in the city for every one to peruſe, while a ſet of magiſtrates, named Theſmothetæ, were appointed to reviſe them carefully, and diſtinctly repeat them once a year. Then, in order to perpetuate his ſtatutes, he engaged the people by a

public

public oath to obſerve them religiouſly, at leaſt for the term of an hundred years; and thus, having completed the taſk aſſigned him, he withdrew from the city, to avoid the importunity of ſome, and the captious petulance of others. For, as he well knew, it was hard, if not impoſſible to pleaſe all.

Solon being thus employed on his travels in viſiting Egypt, Lydia, and ſeveral other countries, left Athens to become habituated to his new inſtitutions, and to try by experience the wiſdom of their formation. But it was not eaſy for a city, long torn by civil diſſenſions, to yield implicit obedience to any laws, how wiſely ſo ever framed; their former animoſities began to revive, when that authority was removed, which alone could hold them in ſubjection. The factions of the ſtate were headed by three different leaders, who inflamed the animoſity of the people againſt each other, hoping, by the ſubverſion of all order, to indulge their own private hopes of preferment. A perſon, named Lycurgus, was at the head of the people that inhabited the low country; Piſiſtratus declared for thoſe who lived in the mountains; and Megacles was the leader of the inhabitants upon the ſea coaſt.

Piſiſtratus was of theſe the moſt powerful. He was a well bred man, of a gentle and inſinuating behaviour, ready to ſuccour and aſſiſt the poor, whoſe

whoſe cauſe he pretended to eſpouſe. He was wiſe, and moderate to his enemies, a moſt artful and accompliſhed diſſembler, and was every way virtuous, except in his inordinate ambition. His ambition gave him the appearance of poſſeſſing qualities which he really wanted: he ſeemed the moſt zealous champion for equality among the citizens, while he was actually aiming at the entire ſubverſion of freedom; and he declared loudly againſt all innovations, while he was actually meditating a change. The giddy multitude, caught by theſe appearances, were zealous in ſeconding his views, and without examining his motives, were driving headlong to tyranny and deſtruction.

It was juſt at the eve of ſucceſs, and upon the point of being indulged in his utmoſt ambition, that Piſiſtratus had the mortification of ſeeing Solon return, after an abſence of ten years, apprized of his deſigns, and willing to ſubvert his ſchemes. Senſible, therefore, of his danger, and conſcious of the penetration of this great lawgiver, the aſpiring demagogue uſed all his artifice to conceal his real deſigns; and while he flattered him in public, uſed every endeavour to bring over the people to ſecond his intereſts. Solon at firſt endeavoured to oppoſe art to his cunning, and to foil him at his own weapons. He praiſed him in his turn, and was heard to declare, what might

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have been true, that, excepting the immoderate ambition of Piſiſtratus, he knew no man of greater, or more exalted virtues. Still, however, he ſet himſelf to counteract his projects, and to defeat his deſigns before they were ripe for execution.

But in a vicious commonwealth no aſſiduity can warn, no wiſdom protect. Piſiſtratus ſtill urged his ſchemes with unabating ardour, and every day made new proſelytes by his profeſſions and his liberalities. At length, finding his ſchemes ripe for open action, he gave himſelf ſeveral wounds, and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in his chariot to the market-place, where, by his complaints and eloquence, he ſo inflamed the populace, that they conſidered him as the victim of their cauſe, and as ſuffering ſuch cruel treatment in their defence. An aſſembly of the people was, therefore, immediately convened, from whom he demanded a guard of fifty perſons for his future ſecurity. It was in vain that Solon uſed all his authority and eloquence to oppoſe ſo dangerous a requeſt. He conſidered his ſufferings as merely counterfeited. He compared him to Ulyſſes in Homer, who cut himſelf with ſimilar deſigns; but he alledged that he did not act the part right, for the deſign of Ulyſſes was to deceive his enemies, but that of Piſiſtratus was levelled againſt his friends and ſupporters. He upbraided the people with their ſtupidity,

pidity, telling them, that for his own part he had ſenſe enough to ſee through this deſign, but they only had ſtrength enough to oppoſe it. His exhortations, however, were vain; the party of Piſiſtratus prevailed, and a guard of fifty men was appointed to attend him. This was all that he aimed at, for now having the protection of ſo many creatures of his own, nothing remained but inſenſibly to increaſe their number. Thus every day his hirelings were ſeen to augment, while the ſilent fears of the citizens increaſed in equal proportion. But it was now too late, for having raiſed the number ſo as to put him beyond the danger of a repulſe, he at length ſeized upon the citadel, while none was left who had courage or conduct to oppoſe him.

In this general conſternation, which was the reſult of folly on the one hand, and treachery on the other, the whole city was one ſcene of tumult and diſorder, ſome flying, others inwardly complaining, others preparing for ſlavery with patient ſubmiſſion. Solon was the only man, who, without fear or ſhrinking, deplored the folly of the times, and reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and treachery. You might, ſaid he, with eaſe have cruſhed the tyrant in the bud; but nothing now remains but to pluck him up by the roots. As for himſelf, he had at leaſt the ſatisfaction

faction of having discharged his duty to his country and the laws; as for the rest he had nothing to fear: and now, upon the destruction of his country, his only confidence was in his great age, which gave him hopes of not being long survivor. In fact, he did not survive the liberty of his country above two years: he died at Cyprus, in the eightieth year of his age, lamented and admired by every state of Greece. Besides his skill in legislation, Solon was remarkable for several other shining qualifications. He understood eloquence in so high a degree, that from him Cicero dates the origin of eloquence in Athens. He was successful also in poetry; and Plato asserts, that it was only for want of due application that he did not come to dispute the prize with Homer himself.

The death of Solon only served to involve Athens in new troubles and commotions. Lycurgus and Megacles, the leaders of the two opposite factions, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of the city; but he was soon after recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. New disturbances arose: Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself, for he had art to acquire power, and moderation to maintain it. The mildness of his government, and his implicit submission to the laws, made the people for-

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get the means by which he acquired his power; and, caught by his lenity, they overlooked his uſurpation. His gardens and pleaſure grounds were free to all the citizens; and he is ſaid to be the firſt who opened a public library at Athens. Cicero is of opinion, that Piſiſtratus firſt made the Athenians acquainted with the books of Homer, that he diſpoſed them in the order in which they now remain, and firſt cauſed them to be read at the feaſts called Panathanea, which were in honour of Minerva, and were at firſt called Athenea; and when afterwards revived and amplified by Theſeus, who had collected the people of Attica into one city, were called *Panathanea, the ſacrifice of all the Athenians.* His juſtice was not leſs remarkable than his politeneſs. Being accuſed of murder, though it was in the time of his tyranny, he diſdained to take the advantage of his authority, but went in perſon to plead his cauſe before the Areopagus, where his accuſer would not venture to appear. In ſhort, he was maſter of many excellent qualities, and perverted them no farther than as they ſtood in competition with empire. Nothing could be objected to him but his having greater power than the laws, and by not exerting that power he almoſt reconciled the citizens to royalty. Upon theſe accounts he was deſervedly oppoſed to uſurpers of fewer virtues; and there

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ſeemed ſuch a reſemblance between him and a more ſucceſsful invader of his country's freedom, that Julius Cæſar was called the Piſiſtratus of Rome.

Piſiſtratus dying in tranquillity, tranſmitted the ſovereign power to his ſons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who ſeemed to inherit all their father's virtues. A paſſion for learning, and it's profeſſors, had for ſome time prevailed in Athens; and this city, which had already far out-gone all its contemporaries in all the arts of refinement, ſeemed to ſubmit tamely to kings, who made learning their pride and their profeſſion. Anacreon, Simonides, and others were invited to their courts, and richly rewarded. Schools were inſtituted for the improvement of youth in the learned profeſſions, and Mercuries were ſet up in all the highways, with moral ſentences written upon them, for the inſtruction of the loweſt vulgar. Their reign, however, laſted but eighteen years, and ended upon the following occaſion.

Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very ſtrict friendſhip for each other, and reſolved to revenge the injuries which ſhould be committed againſt either with common reſentment. Hipparchus being naturally amorous, debauched the ſiſter of Harmodius, and afterwards publiſhed her ſhame as ſhe was about

about to walk in one of the ſacred proceſſions, alledging, that ſhe was not in a condition to aſſiſt at the ceremony. Such a complicated indignity naturally excited the reſentment of the two friends, who formed a fixed reſolution of deſtroying the tyrants, or falling in the attempt. Willing, however, to wait the moſt favourable opportunity, they deferred their purpoſe to the feaſt of the Panathanea, in which the ceremony required that all the citizens ſhould attend in armour. For their greater ſecurity, they admitted only a ſmall number of their friends into the ſecret of their deſign, conceiving that upon the firſt commotion they ſhould not want for abettors. Thus reſolved, the day being come, they went early into the market-place, each armed with his dagger, and ſteadfaſt to his purpoſe. In the mean time, Hippias was ſeen iſſuing with his followers from the palace, to give orders without the city to the guards for the intended ceremony. As the two friends continued to follow him at a little diſtance, they perceived one of thoſe to whom they had communicated their deſign, talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend their plot was betrayed. Eager, therefore, to execute their deſign, they were preparing to ſtrike the blow, but recollected that the real aggreſſor would thus go unpuniſhed. They once more, therefore, returned

turned into the city, willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of their indignities. They were not long in queſt of Hipparchus, they met him upon their return, and ruſhing upon him, diſpatched him with their daggers without delay, but were ſoon after themſelves ſlain in the tumult. Hippias hearing of what was done, to prevent farther diſorders, got all thoſe diſarmed whom he in the leaſt ſuſpected of being privy to the deſign, and then meditated revenge.

Among the friends of the late aſſertors of freedom, was one Leona, a courtezan, who by the charms of her beauty, and her ſkill in playing on the harp, had captivated ſome of the conſpirators, and was ſuppoſed to be deeply engaged in the deſign. As the tyrant, for ſuch the late attempt had rendered him, was conſcious that nothing was concealed from this woman, he ordered her to be put to the torture, in order to extort the names of her accomplices. But ſhe bore all the cruelty of their torments with invincible conſtancy; and leſt ſhe ſhould in the agony of pain be induced to a confeſſion, ſhe bit off her own tongue and ſpit it in the tyrant's face. In this manner ſhe died faithful to the cauſe of liberty, ſhewing the world a remarkable example of conſtancy in her ſex. The Athenians would not ſuffer the memory of ſo heroic an action to paſs into oblivion. They

erected a ſtatue to her memory, in which a lioneſs was repreſented without a tongue.

In the mean time, Hippias ſet no bounds to his indignation. A rebellious people ever makes a ſuſpicious tyrant. Numbers of citizens were put to death; and to guard himſelf for the future againſt a like enterprize, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh his power by foreign alliances. He gave his daughter in marriage to the ſon of the tyrant of Lampſachus, he cultivated a correſpondence with Artaphanes, governor of Sardis, and endeavoured to gain the friendſhip of the Lacedæmonians, who were at that time the moſt powerful people of Greece.

But he was ſupplanted in thoſe very alliances from which he hoped the greateſt aſſiſtance. The family of the Alcmæonidæ, who from the beginning of the revolution had been baniſhed from Athens, endeavoured to undermine his intereſts at Sparta, and they at length ſucceeded. Being poſſeſſed of great riches, and alſo very liberal in their diſtribution, among other public ſervices, they obtained liberty to rebuild the temple at Delphos, which they fronted in a moſt magnificent manner with Parian marble. So noble a munificence was not without a proper acknowledgment of gratitude from the prieſteſs of Apollo, who, willing to oblige them, made her oracle the echo

of

of their desires. As there was nothing, therefore, which this family so ardently desired as the downfall of regal power in Athens, the priestess seconded their intentions; and whenever the Spartans came to consult the oracle, no promise was ever made of the god's assistance, but upon condition that Athens should be set free. This order was so often repeated by the oracle, that the Spartans at last resolved to obey. Their first attempts were, however, unsuccessful; the troops they sent against the tyrant were repulsed with loss. A second effort succeeded. Athens was besieged, and the children of Hippias were made prisoners as they were secretly conveyed to a place of safety out of the city. To redeem these from slavery, the father was obliged to come to an accommodation, by which he consented to give up his pretensions to the sovereign power, and to depart out of the Athenian territories in the space of five days. Thus Athens was once more set free from its tyrants, and obtained its liberty the very same year that the kings were expelled from Rome. The family of Alcmæon were chiefly instrumental, but the people seemed fonder of acknowledging their obligations to the two friends who struck the first blow. The names of Harmodius and Aristogiton were held in the highest respect in all succeeding A. M. 3496.

ceeding ages, and ſcarce conſidered inferior even to the gods themſelves. Their ſtatues were erected in the market-place, an honour which had never been rendered to any before; and, gazing upon theſe, the people caught a love for freedom, and a deteſtation for tyranny, which neither time nor terrors could ever after remove.

CHAP. IV.

A SHORT SURVEY OF THE STATE OF GREECE PREVIOUS TO THE PERSIAN WAR.

HITHERTO we have ſeen the ſtates of Greece in conſtant fluctuation, different ſtates riſing, and others diſappearing, one petty people oppoſed to another, and both ſwallowed up by a third. Every city emerging from the ancient form of government which was originally impoſed upon it, and by degrees acquiring greater freedom. We have ſeen the introduction of written laws, and the benefits they produced, by giving ſtability to government.

During theſe ſtruggles for power among their neighbouring ſtates, and for freedom at home, the moral ſciences, the arts of eloquence, poetry, arms, were making a rapid progreſs among them,

and thoſe inſtitutions which they originally borrowed from the Egyptians, were every day receiving ſignal improvements. As Greece was now compoſed of ſeveral ſmall republics bordering upon each other, and differing in their laws, characters, and cuſtoms, this was a continual ſource of emulation; and every city was not only deſirous of warlike ſuperiority, but alſo of excelling in all the arts of peace and refinement. Hence they were always under arms, and continually exerciſed in war, while their philoſophers and poets travelled from city to city, and by their exhortations and ſongs, warmed them with a love of virtue, and with an ardour for military glory. Theſe peaceful and military accompliſhments raiſed them to their higheſt pitch of grandeur, and they now only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms to ſhew the world their ſuperiority. The Perſian monarchy, the greateſt at that time in the world, ſoon offered itſelf as their opponent, and the conteſt ended with its total ſubverſion.

But as Greece was continually changing not only its government, but its cuſtoms, as in one century it preſented a very different picture from what it offered in the preceding, it will be neceſſary to take a ſecond view of this confederacy of little republics previous to their conteſts with Perſia, as by comparing their ſtrength with that of

their opponent, we ſhall find how much wiſdom, diſcipline, and valour, are ſuperior to numbers, wealth, and oſtentation.

Foremoſt in this confederacy we may reckon the city of Athens, commanding the little ſtate of Attica, their whole dominions ſcarce exceeding the largeſt of our Engliſh counties in circumference. But what was wanting in extent was made up by the citizens being inured to war, and impreſſed with the higheſt ideas of their own ſuperiority. Their orators, their philoſophers, and their poets, had already given leſſons of politeneſs to mankind; and their generals, though engaged only in petty conflicts with their neighbours, had begun to practiſe new ſtratagems in war. There were three kinds of inhabitants in Athens; citizens, ſtrangers, and ſervants. Their number uſually amounted to twenty-one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſtrangers, and from forty to three-ſcore thouſand ſervants.

A citizen could only be ſuch by birth, or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was neceſſary to be born of a father and mother both Athenians, and both free. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon ſtrangers, and thoſe whom they had ſo adopted, enjoyed almoſt the ſame rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizens of Athens was ſometimes

ſometimes granted in honour and gratitude to thoſe who merited well of the ſtate, as to Hippocrates the phyſician; and even kings ſometimes canvaſſed that title for themſelves and their children. When the young men attained the age of twenty, they were enrolled upon the liſt of citizens, after having taken an oath, and in virtue of this they became members of the ſtate.

Strangers, or foreigners, who came to ſettle at Athens, for the ſake of commerce, or of exerciſing any trade, had no ſhare in government, nor votes in the aſſemblies of the people. They put themſelves under the protection of ſome citizen, and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and ſervices. They paid a yearly tribute to the ſtate of twelve drachmas, and in default of payment were made ſlaves, and expoſed to ſale.

Of ſervants, there were ſome free, and others ſlaves, who had been taken in war, or bought of ſuch as trafficked in them. The former were freemen, who, through indigence, were driven to receive wages; and, while they were in this ſtate, they had no vote in the aſſembly. Slaves were abſolutely the property of their maſters, and, as ſuch, were uſed as they thought proper. They were forbidden to wear clothes, or to cut their hair like their maſters, and, which indeed is amaz-

ing, Solon excluded them from the pleaſure or privilege of pæderaſty, as if that had been honourable. They were likewiſe debarred from anointing or perfuming themſelves, and from worſhipping certain deities: they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in moſt other reſpects were treated as inferior animals. Their maſters ſtigmatized them, that is, branded them with letters in the forehead, and elſewhere: however, there was even an aſylum for ſlaves, where the bones of Theſeus had been interred; and that aſylum ſubſiſted for near two thouſand years. When ſlaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they might bring their maſters to juſtice; who, if the fact were ſufficiently proved, were obliged to ſell them to another maſter. They could even ranſom themſelves againſt their maſter's conſent, when they had laid up money enough for that purpoſe; for out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their maſter, they kept the remainder for themſelves, and made a ſtock of it at their own diſpoſal. Private perſons, when they were ſatisfied with their ſervices, often gave them their liberty; and when the neceſſity of the times obliged the ſtate to make their greateſt levies, they were enrolled among the troops, and from thence were ever after free.

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The revenues of this city, according to Ariſtophanes, amounted to two thouſand talents, or about three hundred thouſand pounds of our money. They were generally gathered from the taxes upon agriculture, the ſale of woods, the produce of mines, the contributions paid them by their allies, a capitation levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as ſtrangers, and from fines laid upon different miſdemeanors. The application of theſe revenues was in paying the troops, both by land and ſea, building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing public buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But in the decline of their republic, the greateſt part was conſumed in frivolous expences, games, feaſts, and ſhows, which coſt immenſe ſums, and were of no manner of utility to the ſtate.

But the greateſt glory of Athens, was its being the ſchool and abode of polite learning, arts, and ſciences. The ſtudy of poety, eloquence, philoſophy, and mathematics began there, and came almoſt to their utmoſt perfection. The young people were firſt ſent to learn grammar under maſters who taught them regularly, and upon the principles of their own language. Eloquence was ſtudied with ſtill greater attention, as in that popular government it opened the way to the higheſt employments. To the ſtudy of rhetoric was annexed

nexed that of philoſophy, which compriſed all the ſciences; and in theſe three were many maſters, very converſant, but, as is common, their vanity ſtill greater than their pretenſions.

All the ſubordinate ſtates of Greece ſeemed to make Athens the object of their imitation; and, though inferior to it upon the whole, yet each produced great ſcholars, and remarkable warriors in its turn. Sparta alone took example from no other ſtate, but ſtill rigouroufly attached to the inſtitutions of its great lawgiver, Lycurgus, it diſdained all the arts of peace, which, while they poliſhed, ſerved to enervate the mind; and formed only for war, looked forward to campaigns and battles, as ſcenes of reſt and tranquillity. All the laws of Sparta, and all the inſtitutions of Lycurgus ſeemed to have no other object than war; all other employments, arts, polite learning, ſciences, trades, and even huſbandry itſelf, were prohibited amongſt them. The citizens of Lacedæmon were of two ſorts: thoſe who inhabited the city of Sparta, and who for that reaſon were called Spartans; and thoſe who inhabited the country dependent thereon. In the times of Lycurgus the Spartans amounted to nine thouſand men, the countrymen to thirty thouſand. This number was rather diminiſhed than increaſed in ſucceeding times, but it ſtill compoſed a formidable body, that

that often gave laws to the reſt of Greece. The Spartan ſoldiers, properly ſo called, were conſidered as the flower of the nation; and we may judge of their eſtimation, by the anxiety the republic expreſſed when three hundred of them were once taken priſoners by the Athenians.

But notwithſtanding the great valour of the Spartan ſtate, it was formed rather for a defenſive than an offenſive war. They were always careful to ſpare the troops of their country, and as they had very little money, they were not in a capacity to ſend their armies upon diſtant expeditions.

The armies both of Sparta and Athens were compoſed of four ſorts of troops: citizens, allies, mercenaries and ſlaves. The greateſt number of troops in the two republics were compoſed of allies, who were paid by the citizens who ſent them. Thoſe which received pay from their employers were ſtyled mercenaries. The number of ſlaves attending on every army was very great, and the Helotes, in particular, were employed as light infantry.

The Greek infantry conſiſted of two kinds of ſoldiers; the one heavy armed, and carrying great ſhields, ſpears, and ſcymitars; the other light armed, carrying javelins, bows, and ſlings. Theſe were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings, to ſhoot their arrows or ſling their

their javelins and ſtones at the enemy, and then retire through the intervals behind the ranks, to dart out occaſionally upon the retiring enemy.

The Athenians were pretty much ſtrangers to cavalry, and the Lacedæmonians did not begin the uſe thereof till after the war with Meſſene. They raiſed their horſe principally in a ſmall city not far from Lacedæmon, called Sciros, and they were always placed on the extremity of the left wing, which poſt they claimed as their rightful ſtation.

But to recompenſe this defect of cavalry, the Athenians, in naval affairs, had a great ſuperiority over all the ſtates of Greece. As they had an extenſive ſea-coaſt, and as the profeſſion of a merchant was held reputable among them, their navy increaſed, and was at length ſufficiently powerful to intimidate the fleets of Perſia.

Such were the two ſtates, that in ſome meaſure engroſſed all the power of Greece to themſelves; and, though ſeveral petty kingdoms ſtill held their governments in independence, yet they owed their ſafety to the mutual jealouſy of theſe powerful rivals, and always found ſhelter from the one againſt the oppreſſions of the other. Indeed the diſſimilarity of their habits, manners, and education, ſerved as well to divide theſe two ſtates, as their political ambition. The Lacedæmonians were

were ſevere, and ſeemed to have ſomething almoſt brutal in their character. A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers haughtily ſullen and untractable. The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable, cheerful among each other, and humane to their inferiors; but they were reſtleſs, unequal, timorous friends, and capricious protectors. From hence neither republic could ſufficiently win over the ſmaller ſtates of Greece to their intereſts; and, although their ambition would not ſuffer the country to remain in repoſe, yet their obvious defects were always a bar to the ſpreading their dominion. Thus the mutual jealouſy of theſe ſtates kept them both in conſtant readineſs for war, while their common defects kept the leſſer ſtates independent.

CHAP. V.

From the Expulsion of Hippias to the Death of Darius.

IT was in this diſpoſition of Athens and Sparta, and of the leſſer ſtates, their neighbours, that the Perſian monarchy began to intereſt itſelf in their diſputes, and made itſelf an umpire in their contentions

contentions for liberty, only to seize upon the liberties of all. It has been already related, that Hippias being besieged in Athens, and his children being taken prisoners, in order to release them, he consented to abdicate the sovereign power, and to leave the dominions of Athens in five days. Athens, however, in recovering its liberty, did not enjoy that tranquillity which freedom is thought to bestow. Two of the favourite citizens, Calisthenes, a favourite of the people, and Isagoras, who was supported by the rich, began to contend for that power which they had but a little while before joined in depressing. The former, who was become very popular, made an alteration in the form of their establishment; and instead of four tribes, whereof they before consisted, enlarged their number to ten. He also instituted the manner of giving votes by Ostracism, as it was called. The manner of performing this, was for every freeman not under sixty years old, to give in a name of some citizen, whose power or fortune had, in his opinion, become dangerous to the state, written upon a tile, or oyster-shell (from whence the method of voting had its name) and he upon whom the majority fell, was pronounced banished for ten years. These laws, evidently calculated to increase the power of the people, were so displeasing to Isagoras, that, rather than submit,

mit, he had recourſe to Cleomenes king of Sparta, who undertook to eſpouſe his quarrel. In fact, the Lacedæmonians only wanted a favourable pretext for leſſening and deſtroying the power of Athens, which, in conſequence of the command of the oracle, they had ſo lately reſcued from tyranny. Cleomenes, therefore, availing himſelf of the divided ſtate of the city, entered Athens, and procured the baniſhment of Caliſthenes, with ſeven hundred families more, who had ſided with him in the late commotions. Not content with this, he endeavoured to new model the ſtate; but being ſtrongly oppoſed by the ſenate, he ſeized upon the citadel, from whence, however, in two days he was obliged to retire. Caliſthenes perceiving the enemy withdrawn, returned with his followers, and finding it vain to make any farther attempts for power, reſtored the government as ſettled by Solon.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians repenting the ſervices they had rendered their rival ſtate, and perceiving the impoſture of the oracle, by which they were thus impelled to act againſt their own intereſts, began to think of reinſtating Hippias on the throne. But, previous to their attempt, they judged it prudent to conſult the ſubordinate ſtates of Greece, and to ſee what hopes they had of their concurrence and approbation.

Nothing

Nothing, however, could be more mortifying, than the univerſal deteſtation with which their propoſal was received by the deputies of the ſtates of Greece. The deputy of Corinth expreſſed the utmoſt indignation at the deſign, and ſeemed aſtoniſhed that the Spartans, who were the avowed enemies of tyrants, ſhould thus eſpouſe the intereſts of one noted for cruelty and uſurpation. The reſt of the ſtates warmly ſeconded his ſentiments, and the Lacedæmonians, covered with confuſion and remorſe, abandoned Hippias and his cauſe for ever after.

Hippias being thus fruſtrated in his hopes of exciting the Greeks to ſecond his pretenſions, was reſolved to have recourſe to one who was conſidered as a much more powerful patron. Wherefore, taking his leave of the Spartans, he applied himſelf to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Perſia, whom he endeavoured by every art to engage in a war againſt Athens. He repreſented to him the divided ſtate of the city. he enlarged upon its riches, and the happineſs of its ſituation for trade. He added the eaſe with which it might be taken, and the glory that would attend ſucceſs. Influenced by theſe motives, the pride and the avarice of the Perſian court were inflamed, and nothing was ſo ardently ſought as the pretext of a diſpute with the Athenians. When, therefore,

therefore, that city ſent to the Perſian court to vindicate their proceedings, alledging, that Hippias deſerved no countenance from ſo great a people; the anſwer returned was, *That if the Athenians would be ſafe, they muſt admit Hippias for their king*. Athens having ſo lately thrown off the yoke, had too lively a ſenſe of its paſt calamities to accept ſafety upon ſuch baſe conditions, and reſolved to ſuffer the laſt extremity rather than open their gates to a tyrant. When Artaphernes, therefore, demanded the reſtoration of Hippias, the Athenians boldly returned him a downright and abſolute refuſal. From this aroſe the war between Greece and Perſia, one of the moſt glorious, and the moſt remarkable that ever graced the annals of kingdoms.

But there were more cauſes than one tending to make a breach between theſe powerful nations, and producing an irreconcileable averſion for each other. The Greek colonies of Ionia, Æolia, and Caria, that were ſettled for above five hundred years in Aſia Minor, were at length ſubdued by Crœſus king of Lydia; and he, in turn, ſinking under the power of Cyrus, his conqueſts of courſe fell in with the reſt of his dominions. The Perſian monarch, thus poſſeſſed of a very extenſive territory, placed governors over the ſeveral cities that were thus ſubdued; and as men bred

up in a deſpotic court, were likely enough to imitate the example ſet them at home, it is probable they abuſed their power. Be this as it may, in all the Greek cities they were called Tyrants; and as theſe little ſtates had not yet loſt all idea of freedom, they took every opportunity to recover their liberty, and made many bold, but unſucceſsful ſtruggles in that glorious cauſe. The Ionians particularly, who bore the greateſt ſway among them, let no occaſion ſlip which promiſed the ſmalleſt hopes of ſhaking off the Perſian yoke.

That which favoured their deſigns upon the preſent occaſion, was the expedition of Darius into Scythia, into which country he ſent a numerous army, laying a bridge over the river Iſter for that purpoſe. The Ionians were appointed to guard this important paſs, but were adviſed by Miltiades, whom we ſhall afterwards find performing nobler exploits, to break down the bridge, and thus cut off the Perſian retreat. The Ionians, however, rejected his counſel, and Darius returned with his army into Europe, where he added Thrace and Macedon to the number of his conqueſts.

Hiſtiæus, the tyrant of Miletus, was the perſon who oppoſed the advice of Miltiades. Being of an ambitious and intriguing diſpoſition, he was willing to leſſen the merit of all his contemporaries,

ries, in order to enhance his own. But he was deceived in his expectations of ſucceſs; from theſe ſchemes Darius juſtly ſuſpecting his fidelity, took him with him to Suſa, under pretence of uſing his friendſhip and advice, but in reality of preventing his future machinations at home. But Hiſtiæus ſaw too clearly the cauſe of his detention, which he regarded as a ſpecious impriſonment, and therefore took every opportunity of ſecretly exciting the Ionians to a revolt, hoping, that himſelf might one day be ſent to bring them to reaſon.

Ariſtagoras was at that time this ſtateſman's deputy at Miletus, and received the inſtructions of his maſter to ſtir up the Ionian cities to revolt with the utmoſt alacrity. In fact, from a late failure of this general upon Naxos, his credit was ruined at the Perſian court, and no other alternative remained for him, but to comply with the advice of Hiſtiæus in ſtirring up a revolt, and of trying to place himſelf at the head of a new confederacy.

The firſt ſtep Ariſtagoras took to engage the affections of the Ionians, was to throw up his power in Miletus, where he was deputy, and to reinſtate that little place in all its former freedom. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his credit, and perhaps his me-

naces, he induced every other governor to imitate his example. They all complied the more chearfully, as the Perſian power, ſince the check it had received in Scythia, was the leſs able to puniſh their revolt, or to protect them in their continued attachment. Having thus united all theſe little ſtates by the conſciouſneſs of one common offence, he then threw off the maſk, declaring himſelf at the head of the confederacy, and bid defiance to the power of Perſia.

To enable himſelf to carry on the war with more vigour, he went in the beginning of the following year to Lacedæmon, in order to engage that ſtate in his intereſts, and engage it in a war with a power that ſeemed every day to threaten the general liberty of Greece. Cleomenes was at that time king of Sparta, and to him Ariſtagoras applied for aſſiſtance, in what he repreſented as the common cauſe. He repreſented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that it would be for the honour of Sparta to concur with him in the deſign he had formed of reſtoring the Ionians to liberty; that the Perſians were enervated by luxury; that their riches would ſerve to reward the conquerors, while nothing was ſo eaſy as their overthrow. Conſidering the preſent ſpirit of the Ionians, it would not be difficult, he ſaid, for the victorious Spartans to carry

carry their arms even to the gates of Suſa, the metropolis of the Perſian empire, and thus give laws to thoſe who preſumed to call themſelves the ſovereigns of the world. Cleomenes deſired time to conſider this propoſal; and, being bred up in Spartan ignorance, demanded how far it was from the Ionian ſea to Suſa? Ariſtagoras, without conſidering the tendency of the queſtion, anſwered, that it might be a journey of three months. Cleomenes made no anſwer, but turning his back upon ſo great an adventurer, gave orders, that before ſun-ſet he ſhould quit the city. Still, however, Ariſtagoras followed him to his houſe, and finding the inefficacy of his eloquence, tried what his offers of wealth could do. He at firſt offered him ten talents, he then raiſed the ſum to fifteen; and it is unknown what effect ſuch a large ſum might have had upon the Spartan, had not his daughter, a child of nine years old, who was accidentally preſent at the propoſal, cried out, *Fly father, or this ſtranger will corrupt you.* This advice, given in the moment of ſuſpenſe, prevailed; Cleomenes refuſed his bribes, and Ariſtagoras went to ſue at other cities, where eloquence was more honoured, and wealth more alluring.

Athens was a city where he expected a more favourable reception. Nothing could be more fortunate for his intereſts than his arrival at the

very time they had received the peremptory meſſage from the Perſians to admit their tyrant, or to fear the conſequences of their diſobedience. The Athenians were at that time all in an uproar, and the propoſal of Ariſtagoras met with the moſt favourable reception. It was much eaſier to impoſe upon a multitude than a ſingle perſon. The whole body of citizens engaged immediately to furniſh twenty ſhips to aſſiſt his deſigns; and to theſe, the Eretrians and Eubœans added five more.

Ariſtagoras, thus ſupplied, reſolved to act with vigour; and having collected all his forces together, ſet ſail for Epheſus; where, leaving his fleet, he entered the Perſian frontiers, and marched by land to Sardis, the capital city of Lydia. Artaphernes, who reſided there as the Perſian viceroy, finding the city untenable, reſolved to ſecure himſelf in the citadel, which he knew could not eaſily be forced. As moſt of the houſes of this city were built with reeds, and conſequently very combuſtible, one of the houſes being ſet on fire, by an Ionian ſoldier, the flames quickly ſpread to all the reſt. Thus the whole town was quickly reduced to aſhes, and numbers of the inhabitants were ſlain. But the Perſians were ſoon avenged for this unneceſſary cruelty; for either recovering themſelves from their former panic, or being reinforced by the Lydians, they charged the Ionians

in

in a body, and drove them back with great ſlaughter. Nor was the purſuit diſcontinued even as far as Epheſus, where the vanquiſhed and the victors arriving together, a great carnage enſued, and but a ſmall part of the routed army eſcaped, which took ſhelter aboard the fleet, or in the neighbouring cities. Other defeats followed after this. The Athenians, intimidated with ſuch a commencement of ill ſucceſs, could not be perſuaded to continue the war. The Cyprians were obliged once more to ſubmit to the Perſian yoke. The Ionians loſt moſt of their towns one after the other, and Ariſtagoras flying into Thrace, was cut off by the inhabitants with all his forces.

In the mean time, Hiſtiæus, who was the original cauſe of all theſe misfortunes, finding that he began to be ſuſpected in Perſia, left that court under a pretence of going to quell thoſe troubles, which he had all along ſecretly fomented; but his duplicity of conduct rendered him now ſuſpicious to either party. Artaphernes, the Perſian viceroy, plainly accuſed him of treachery, while his own Mileſians refuſed to admit him as their maſter. Thus wavering, uncertain, and not knowing where to turn, having picked up a few ſcattered remains of the routed armies, he fell in with Harpagus, one of the Perſian generals, who routed his forces, and made Hiſtiæus himſelf a priſoner.

Being ſent to Artaphernes, that inhuman commander immediately cauſed him to be crucified, and ordered his head to be ſent to Darius, who received the preſent with that diſguſt which evidenced his ſuperior humanity. He wept over it with a friendly ſorrow, and ordered that it ſhould receive honourable interment.

In the mean time, the affairs of the Ionian confederacy every day became more deſperate. The Perſian generals, finding that Miletus was the city which they chiefly depended on, reſolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that having carried that city, all the reſt would ſubmit of courſe. The Ionians having intelligence of this deſign, determined in a general aſſembly, to make no oppoſition by land, where the Perſians were too powerful; but to fortify Miletus, and exert all their efforts by ſea, where they hoped for the advantage, from their ſuperior ſkill in naval evolutions. They accordingly aſſembled a fleet of three hundred ſhips at a little iſland over againſt Miletus, and on the ſuperiority of this fleet they placed their whole reliance. But the Perſian gold effected what their arms were unable to compaſs. Their emiſſaries having ſecretly debauched the greateſt part of the confederates, and engaged them to deſert; when the two fleets came to engage, the ſhips of Samos, Leſbos,

Leſbos, and ſeveral other places, ſailed off, and returned to their own country. Thus the remaining part of the fleet, which did not amount to more than an hundred ſhips, was quickly overpowered, and almoſt totally deſtroyed.

After this the city of Miletus was beſieged, and was eaſily taken. All the other cities, as well on the continent as among the iſlands, were forced to return to their duty. Thoſe who continued obſtinate were treated with great ſeverity. The handſomeſt of the young men were choſen to ſerve in the king's palace, and the young women were all ſent into Perſia. Thus ended the revolt of the Ionians, which continued ſix years, from its firſt breaking out, under Ariſtagoras, and this was the third time the Ionians were obliged to undergo the yoke of foreign dominion; for they inherited a natural love of freedom, which all the Greeks were known to poſſeſs.

The Perſians, having thus ſubdued the greateſt part of Aſia Minor, began to look towards Europe, as offering conqueſts worthy their ambition. The aſſiſtance given the Ionians by the Athenian fleet, and the refuſal of that ſtate to admit Hippias as their king; the taking of Sardis, and the contempt they teſtified for the Perſian power, were all ſufficient motives for exciting the reſentment of that empire, and for marking out all Greece

Greece for deſtruction. Darius, therefore, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, ſent Mardonius, the ſon of Gobryas, a young nobleman who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Aſia; and particularly to revenge the burning of Sardis. This was an offence which that monarch ſeemed peculiarly to reſent; and, from the time of that conflagration, he had given orders for one of his attendants, every time he ſat down to table, to cry out—*Remember the Athenians.*

Mardonius, willing to ſecond his maſter's animoſity, quickly paſſed into Thrace, at the head of a large army, and ſo terrified the inhabitants of that country, that they yielded implicit obedience to his power. From thence he ſet ſail for Macedonia, but his fleet attempting to double the Cape of Mount Athos, in order to gain the coaſts of that country, were attacked by ſo violent a tempeſt, that upwards of three hundred ſhips were ſunk, and above twenty thouſand men periſhed in the ſea. His land army, that took the longeſt way about, met, at the ſame time, with equal diſtreſſes; for, being encamped in a place of no ſecurity, the Thracians attacked them by night, and made a great ſlaughter among the enemy. Mardonius himſelf was wounded, and finding his army unable

unable to maintain the field, he returned to the Perſian court, covered with grief and confuſion, having miſcarried both by ſea and land.

But the ill ſucceſs of one or two campaigns was not ſufficient to abate the reſentment or the ardour of the king of Perſia. Poſſeſſed, as he was, of reſources almoſt inexhauſtible, wealth without end, and armies that ſeemed to increaſe from defeat, he only grew more determined from every repulſe, and doubled his preparations in proportion to his former failures. He now perceived that the youth and inexperience of Mardonius were unequal to ſo great an undertaking: he therefore diſplaced him, and appointed two generals, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, the ſon of him who was late governor of Sardis, in his ſtead. His thoughts were earneſtly bent on attacking Greece with all his forces. He wiſhed to take a ſignal revenge upon Athens, which he conſidered as the principal cauſe of the late revolt in Ionia: beſides, Hippias was ſtill near him to warm his ambition, and keep his reſentment alive. Greece, he ſaid, was now an object for ſuch a conqueror; the world had long beheld it with an eye of admiration, and if not ſoon humbled, it might in time ſupplant even Perſia in the homage of the world.

Thus

Thus excited by every motive of ambition and revenge, Darius reſolved to bend all his attention to a war with Greece. He had in the beginning of his reign ſent ſpies with one Democedes, a Greek phyſician, as their conductor, to bring him information with reſpect to the ſtrength and ſituation of all the ſtates of Greece. This ſecret deputation failed; he was, therefore, willing once more to ſend men under the character of heralds, to denounce his reſentment; and, at the ſame time, to learn how the different ſtates of the country ſtood affected towards him. The form uſed by the Perſians, when they expected ſubmiſſion from leſſer ſtates, was to demand earth and water in the monarch's name, and ſuch as refuſed were to be conſidered as oppoſers of the Perſian power. On the arrival, therefore, of the heralds amongſt the Greeks, many of the cities, dreading the Perſian power, complied with their demands. The Eginetans, with ſome of the iſlands alſo, yielded up a ready ſubmiſſion; and almoſt all but Athens and Sparta, were contented to exchange their liberties for ſafety.

But theſe two noble republics bravely diſdained to acknowledge the Perſian power; they had felt the benefits of freedom, and were reſolved to maintain it to the laſt. Inſtead, therefore, of offering up earth and water, as demanded, they threw

threw the heralds, the one into a well, the other into a ditch; and, adding mockery to inſult, deſired them to take earth and water from thence. This they probably did to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation, and to leave no ſafety but in perſeverance and deſpair.

Nor were the Athenians content with this outrage, but reſolved alſo to puniſh the Eginetans, who, by a baſe ſubmiſſion to the Perſian power, had betrayed the common cauſe of Greece. They accordingly repreſented the affair to the Spartans, with all its aggravating circumſtances, and heightened with that eloquence for which they were famous. Before ſuch judges, it was not likely that cowardice or timidity would find many defenders: the Spartans immediately gave judgment againſt the people of Ægina, and ſent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of ſo baſe a conceſſion. The people of Ægina, however, refuſed to deliver them, under pretence that Cleomenes came without his colleague. This colleague was Demaratus, who had himſelf ſecretly furniſhed them with that excuſe. As ſoon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for thus counteracting the demands of his country, he endeavoured to get him depoſed, as not being of the royal family. In fact, Demaratus was born only

ſeven

ſeven months after marriage, and this was ſuppoſed by many to be a ſufficient proof of his baſtardy. This accuſation, therefore, being revived, the Pythian oracle was appointed to determine the controverſy; and the prieſteſs being privately ſuborned by Cleomenes, an anſwer was given againſt his colleague, juſt as he had dictated. Demaratus thus being illegitimate, and unable to endure ſo groſs an injury, baniſhed himſelf from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with great friendſhip, and gave him a conſiderable ſettlement in Perſia. He was ſucceeded in the throne by Leotychides, who concurring with the views of Cleomenes, puniſhed the Æginetans, by placing ten of their moſt guilty citizens in the hands of the Athenians; while Cleomenes, ſome time after, being detected of having ſuborned the prieſteſs, ſlew himſelf in a fit of deſpair.

On the other hand, the Æginetans complained of the ſeverity of their treatment; but finding no likelihood of redreſs, they reſolved to obtain that juſtice by force which was refuſed to their ſupplications. Accordingly, they intercepted an Athenian ſhip, which, in purſuance of an annual cuſtom ever ſince the times of Theſeus, was going to Delos to offer ſacrifice. This produced a naval war between theſe two ſtates; in which, after a variety of fortunes, the Æginetans were worſted,

and

and the Athenians poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſovereignty of the ſeas. Thus thoſe civil diſcords, which ſeemed at firſt to favour the deſigns of the common enemy, turned out to the general advantage of Greece; for the Athenians thus acquiring great power at ſea, were put in a capacity of facing the Perſian fleets, and of cutting off thoſe ſupplies which were continually carrying to their armies by land.

In the mean time, the preparations on both ſides for a general war were carried on with the greateſt animoſity and diſpatch. Darius ſent away his generals, Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed in the room of Mardonius, to what he ſuppoſed a certain conqueſt. They were furniſhed with a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips, and an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men. Their inſtructions were, to give up Athens and Eretria, a little city which had joined in the league againſt him to be plundered; to burn all the houſes and temples of both, and to lead away all the inhabitants into ſlavery. The country was to be laid deſolate; and the army was provided with a ſufficient ſupply of chains and fetters for binding the conquered nations.

To oppoſe this formidable invaſion, the Athenians had only their courage, their animoſity, their dread of ſlavery, their diſcipline, and about ten

ten thouſand men. Their civil commotions with the other ſtates of Greece had given them a ſpirit of war and ſtratagem, while the genius of their citizens, continually excited and exerciſed, was arrived at the higheſt pitch, and fitted them for every danger. Athens had long been refining in all thoſe arts which qualifies a ſtate to extend, or to enjoy conqueſt; every citizen was a ſtateſman and a general, and every ſoldier conſidered himſelf as one of the bulwarks of his country. But in this little ſtate, from whence firſt flowed all thoſe improvements that have ſince adorned and civilized ſociety, there was at that time three men who were conſidered as ſuperiors to all the reſt, all remarkable for their abilities in war, and their integrity in peace; for thoſe qualifications that are fitted to advance the glory of ſtates, or procure the happineſs of the individual.

Of theſe Miltiades, as being the moſt experienced, was at that time the moſt known. He was the ſon of Cimon, and nephew of Miltiades, an illuſtrious Athenian, who accepted the government of the Dolonci, a people of the Thraſian Cherſoneſus. Old Miltiades dying without iſſue, he was ſucceeded in his government by Steſagoras, his Nephew; and he alſo dying, young Miltiades was choſen as his ſucceſſor. He was appointed to that government the ſame year that Darius undertook

dertook his unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Scythians. He was obliged to attend that prince as far as the Iſter, with what ſhipping he was able to ſupply; but, ever eager to throw off the Perſian yoke, it was he who adviſed the Ionians to deſtroy the bridge, and leave the army of Darius to its fate. When the affairs of the continent began to decline, Miltiades, rather than live in dependence, reſolved to return once more to Athens; and thither he returned with five ſhips, which were all that remained of his ſhattered fortunes.

At the ſame time, two other citizens, younger than Miltiades, began to diſtinguiſh themſelves at Athens, namely, Ariſtides and Themiſtocles. Theſe were of very different diſpoſitions; but from this difference reſulted the greateſt advantages to their country. Themiſtocles was naturally inclined to a popular government, and omitted nothing that could render him agreeable to the people, or gain him friends. His complaiſance was boundleſs, and his deſire to oblige ſometimes out-ſtepped the bounds of duty. His partiality was often conſpicuous. Somebody talking with him once on the ſubject, told him he would make an excellent magiſtrate, if he had more impartiality: *God forbid*, replied he, *that I ſhould ever ſit upon a tri-*

bunal, where my friends ſhould find no more favour than ſtrangers.

Ariſtides was as remarkable for his juſtice and integrity. Being a favourer of ariſtocracy, in imitation of Lycurgus, he was friendly, but never at the expence of juſtice. In ſeeking honours, he ever declined the intereſts of his friends, leſt they ſhould, in turn, demand his intereſt, when his duty was to be impartial. The love of the public good was the great ſpring of all his actions, and with that in view no difficulties could daunt, no ſucceſs or elevation exalt him. On all occaſions he preſerved his uſual calmneſs of temper, being perſuaded that he was entirely his country's, and very little his own. One day, when an actor was repeating ſome lines from Æſchylus on the ſtage, coming to a paſſage which deſcribed a man as not deſiring to appear honeſt, but to be ſo, the whole audience caſt their eyes on Ariſtides, and applied the paſſage. In the adminiſtration of public offices, his whole aim was to perform his duty without any thought of enriching himſelf.

Such were the characters of the illuſtrious Athenians that led the councils of the ſtate, when Darius turned his arms againſt Greece. Theſe inſpired their fellow-citizens with a noble confidence in the juſtice of their cauſe, and made all the preparations

preparations againſt the coming invaſion that prudence and deliberate valour could ſuggeſt. In the mean time Datis and Artaphernes led on their numerous forces towards Europe; and after having made themſelves maſters of the iſlands in the Ægean ſea without any oppoſition, they turned their courſe towards Eretria, that city which had formerly aſſiſted the Ionians in their revolt. The Eretrians, now driven to the laſt extremity, ſaw no hopes of meeting the enemy in the field; wherefore they ſent back four thouſand men that the Athenians had ſupplied them with, and reſolved patiently to ſtand a ſiege. For ſix days the Perſians attempted to ſtorm the city, and were repulſed with loſs; but on the ſeventh, the city, by the treachery of ſome of the principal inhabitants, being betrayed into their hands, they entered, plundered, and burned it. The inhabitants were put in chains, and ſent as the firſt-fruits of war to the Perſian monarch; but he, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great lenity, and gave them a village in the country of Ciſſa for their reſidence, where Apollonius Tyanæus found their deſcendants ſix hundred years after.

After ſuch ſplendid ſucceſs at Eretria, nothing now remained but the apparently eaſy conqueſt of Greece. Hippias, the expelled tyrant of Athens,

ſtill accompanied the Perſian army, and led them by the ſafeſt marches into the heart of the country; at length, flushed with victory, and certain of ſucceſs, he conducted them to the plains of Marathon, a fertile valley but ten miles diſtant from Athens. From thence they ſent to ſummon the citizens, acquainting them with the fate of Eretria, and informing them that not a ſingle inhabitant had eſcaped their vengeance. But the Athenians were not to be intimidated by any vicinity of danger. They had ſent, indeed, to Sparta to implore ſuccours againſt the common enemy, which were granted without deliberation; but the ſuperſtition of the times rendered their aſſiſtance ineffectual, for it was an eſtabliſhed law among the Spartans not to begin a march before the full moon. They applied alſo to other ſtates, but they were too much awed by the power of Perſia to move in their defence. An army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, exulting in the midſt of their country, was too formidable for a weak and jealous confederacy to oppoſe. The inhabitants of Platea alone furniſhed them with a thouſand ſoldiers, and they were left to find all other aſſiſtance in their courage and their deſpair.

In this extremity they were obliged to arm their ſlaves for the ſafety of all, and their forces, thus united, amounted to but ten thouſand men. Hoping

therefore to derive from their diſcipline what they wanted in power, they placed their whole army under the conduct of ten generals, of whom Miltiades was chief; and of theſe each was to have the command of the troops day about, in regular ſucceſſion. An arrangement in itſelf ſo unpromiſing, was ſtill more embarraſſed by the generals themſelves diſputing whether they ſhould hazard a battle, or wait the approach of the enemy within the walls. The latter opinion ſeemed for a while to prevail: it was urged, that it would be raſhneſs itſelf to face ſo powerful and well appointed an army with an handful of men. It was alledged, that the ſoldiers would gather courage from their ſecurity behind their walls, and that the forces of Sparta without might make a diverſion in caſe of a ſally from within. Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and ſhewed that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to ſtrike a terror into thoſe of the enemy, was, to advance boldly toward them, with an air of confidence and deſperate intrepidity. Ariſtides alſo ſtrenuouſly embraced this opinion, and exerted all his maſculine eloquence to bring over the reſt. The queſtion being put, when the ſuffrages came to be taken, the opinions were equal on either ſide of the argument. It now, therefore, remained for Callimachus, the Polemarch,

lemarch, who had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders, to give his opinion, and decide this important debate. It was to him Miltiades addreſſed himſelf with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, alledging, that the fate of his country was now in his power; that his ſingle vote was to determine whether his country ſhould be enſlaved or free; that his fame might now, by a ſingle word, be made equal to that of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who were the authors of Athenian liberty. If, ſaid he, we decline a battle, I foreſee ſome great diſſention will ſhake the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance with the Medes; but if we fight before corruption inſinuates itſelf into the hearts of the Athenians, we may hope, from the equity of the gods, to obtain the victory. Thus exhorted, Callimachus did not long debate, but gave his voice in favour of an open engagement; and Miltiades, thus ſeconded, prepared to marſhal up his little army for the great encounter.

In the mean time it appeared, that ſo many leaders commanding in ſucceſſion, only ſerved to perplex and counteract each other. Ariſtides perceived that a command which changes every day muſt be incapable of projecting any uniform deſign; he therefore gave it as his opinion, that it was neceſſary to inveſt the whole power in one ſingle

ſingle perſon, and to induce his colleagues to conform, he himſelf ſet the firſt example of reſignation. When the day came, on which it was his turn to command, he reſigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general, while the other commanders, warmed by ſo generous a preference, followed his example.

Miltiades, thus veſted in the ſupreme command, which was now the poſt of higheſt danger, like an experienced general, endeavoured, by the advantage of his ground, to make up for his deficiency in ſtrength and numbers. He was ſenſible, that by extending his front to oppoſe the enemy he muſt weaken it too much, and give their denſe body the advantage. He therefore drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, ſo that the enemy ſhould not ſurround him, or charge him in the rear. On the flanks on either ſide he cauſed large trees to be thrown, which were cut down for that purpoſe, and theſe ſerved to guard him from the Perſian cavalry, that generally wheeled on the flank in the heat of an engagement.

Datis, on his ſide, was ſenſible of this advantageous diſpoſition; but relying on his ſuperiority of numbers, and unwilling to wait till the Spartan reinforcements ſhould arrive, he determined to engage. And now was to be fought the firſt great battle which the Greeks had ever engaged

in. It was not like any of their former civil conteſts, ariſing from jealouſy, and terminating in an eaſy accommodation: it was a battle that was to be decided with the greateſt monarch of the earth, with the moſt numerous army that had been hitherto ſeen in Europe. This was an engagement that was to decide the liberty of Greece, and, what was of infinitely greater moment, the future progreſs of refinement among mankind. Upon the event of this battle depended the complexion which the manners of the Weſt were hereafter to aſſume; whether they were to adopt Aſiatic cuſtoms with their conquerors, or to go on in modelling themſelves upon Grecian refinements, as was afterwards the caſe. This, therefore, may be conſidered as one of the moſt important battles that ever was fought, and the event was as little to be expected as the ſucceſs was glorious.

The ſignal was no ſooner given than the Athenians, without waiting the Perſian onſet, ruſhed in upon their ranks with deſperate rapidity, as if wholly regardleſs of ſafety. The Perſians regarded this firſt ſtep of the Athenians as the reſult of madneſs, and were more inclined to deſpiſe them as maniacs, than oppoſe them as ſoldiers. However they were quickly undeceived. It had never before been the cuſtom of the Greeks to run on with this headlong valour; but comparing the number

of

of their own forces with that of the enemy, and expecting safety only from rashness, they determined to break through the enemy's ranks, or fall in the attempt. The greatness of their danger added to their courage, and despair did the rest. The Persians, however, stood their ground with great intrepidity, and the battle was long, fierce, and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak and not so deep; for having but ten thousand men to oppose to such a numerous army, he supposed the victory could be obtained by no other means than strengthening his flanks; not doubting but when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to wheel upon the enemy's main body on either side, and thus put them easily to the rout. The Persians, therefore, finding the main body weakest, attacked it with their utmost vigour. It was in vain that Aristides and Themistocles, who were stationed in this post of danger, endeavoured to keep their troops to the charge. Courage and intrepidity were unable to resist the torrent of increasing numbers, so that they were at last obliged to give ground. But in the mean time the wings were victorious; and now, just as the main body was fainting under the unequal encounter, these came up, and gave them time to recover their strength and order. Thus the

scale

ſcale of victory quickly began to turn in their favour, and the Perſians, from being the aggreſſors, now began to give ground in turn; and being unſupported by freſh forces, they fled to their ſhips with the utmoſt precipitation. The confuſion and diſorder was now univerſal, the Athenians followed them to the beach, and ſet many of their ſhips on fire. On this occaſion it was that Cyndæyrus, the brother of the poet Æſchylus, ſeized with his hand one of the ſhips that the enemy was puſhing off from the ſhore. The Perſians within, ſeeing themſelves thus arreſted, cut off his right hand that held the prow; he then laid hold of it with his left, which they alſo cut off; at laſt he ſeized it with his teeth, and in that manner expired.

Seven of the enemy's ſhips were taken, above ſix thouſand perſons were ſlain, without reckoning thoſe who were drowned in the ſea as they endeavoured to eſcape, or thoſe who were conſumed when the ſhips were ſet on fire. Of the Greeks not above two hundred men were killed, among whom was Callimachus, who gave his vote for bringing on the engagement. Hippias, who was the chief incendiary of the war, is thought to have fallen in this battle, though ſome ſay he eſcaped and died miſerably at Lemnos.

Such was the famous battle of Marathon, which the Perſians were ſo ſure of gaining, that they had brought

brought marble into the field in order to erect a trophy there. Juſt after the battle, an Athenian ſoldier, whoſe name was Eucles, ſtill covered all over with blood and wounds, quitted the army and ran to Athens, to carry his fellow-citizens the news of the victory. His ſtrength juſt ſufficed to reach the city, and throwing himſelf into the door of the firſt houſe he met, he uttered three words, *Rejoice, we triumph,* and inſtantly expired.

While a part of the army marched forward to Athens, to protect it from the attempts of the enemy, Ariſtides remained upon the field of battle to guard the ſpoil and the priſoners; and although gold and ſilver were ſcattered about the enemy's deſerted camp in abundance, though their tents and gallies were full of rich furniture and ſumptuous apparel, he would not permit any of it to be embezzled, but reſerved it as a common reward for all who had any ſhare in the victory. Two thouſand Spartans alſo, whoſe laws would not permit them to march until the full of the moon, now came into the field, but the action being over the day before, they only had an opportunity of paying due honours to thoſe who gained ſo glorious a victory, and to bring back the news to Sparta. Of the marble which the Perſians had brought with them, the Athenians made a trophy, being carved by Phidias into a ſtatue, in honour of

of the goddeſs Nemeſis, who had a temple near the field of battle.

In the mean time, the Perſian fleet, inſtead of ſailing directly back to Aſia, made an attempt to ſurpriſe Athens before the Greek forces could arrive from Marathon. But the latter had the precaution to move directly thither, and performed their march with ſo much expedition, that though it was forty miles from Marathon, they arrived there in one day. In this manner the Greeks not only repelled their enemies, but confirmed their ſecurity. By this victory the Grecians were taught to know their own ſtrength, and not to tremble before an enemy terrible only in name. This taught them through the whole of ſucceeding ages to imitate their anceſtors with an ardent emulation, and inſpired them with a wiſh of not degenerating from the Grecian glory. Thoſe Athenians that were ſlain in battle, had all the honour immediately paid them that was due to their merit. Illuſtrious monuments were erected to them all in the very place where the battle was fought, upon which their names, and the tribe to which they belonged, were inſcribed. There were three diſtinct ſorts of monuments ſet up; one for the Athenians, one for the Platæans, and a third for the ſlaves who had been enrolled into their troops upon that urgent occaſion.

But

But their gratitude to Miltiades ſpoke a nobleneſs of mind, that far ſurpaſſed expenſive triumphs, or baſe adulation. Senſible that his merits were too great for money to repay, they cauſed a picture to be painted by Polygnotus, one of their moſt celebrated artiſts, where Miltiades was repreſented at the head of the ten commanders exhorting the ſoldiers, and ſetting them an example of their duty. This picture was preſerved for many ages, with other paintings of the beſt maſters, in the portico where Zeno afterwards inſtituted his ſchool of philoſophy. An emulation ſeemed to take place in every rank of life; Polygnotus valued himſelf ſo much upon the honour of being appointed to paint this picture, that he gave his labour for nothing. In return for ſuch generoſity, the Amphyctions appointed him a public lodging in the city where he might reſide during pleaſure. A. M. 3514.

But though the gratitude of the Athenians to Miltiades was very ſincere, yet it was of no long continuance. This fickle and jealous people, naturally capricious, and now more than ever careful of preſerving their freedom, were willing to take every opportunity of mortifying a general, from whoſe merit they had much to fear. Being appointed with ſeventy ſhips to puniſh thoſe iſlands that had favoured the Perſian invaſion, he ſailed

to Paros. The reaſon he alledged for invading this iſland was, that the inhabitants had aſſiſted the Perſians with ſhips, in the expedition of Marathon; but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one Lyſagoras, a Parian, had done him ill offices with Hydarnes, the Perſian. When he arrived on the iſland, he ſent Heralds to the capital, requiring an hundred talents to be paid to him; threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to beſiege the city; and, if he ſhould take it, to give it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. The Parians, however, were not to be terrified; they even refuſed to deliberate on his propoſition, and prepared themſelves for an obſtinate defence. Miltiades cauſed the place be inveſted, and carried on the ſiege with great vigour, till one Timo, a Parian woman, a prieſteſs, pretended to inform him how he might take the city. In conſequence of what this woman told him, he repaired to the temple of Ceres the lawgiver, and, not being able to open its gates, he climbed to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down. Being ſeized with a ſudden tremor, and reſolving to return, he re-aſcended the wall; but his foot ſlipping he fell, and either broke his thigh-bone or diſlocated his knee-pan. However, he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, and to return wounded to Athens where an unfortunate man was never welcome. The whole

whole city began to murmur; and one Xanthippus accuſed him of having taken a bribe from Perſia. As he was not in a condition to anſwer this charge, being confined to his bed by the wound he received at Paros, the accuſation took place againſt him, and he was condemned to loſe his life. The manner of executing criminals found guilty of great offences, was by throwing them into the Barathrum, a deep pit, from whence none were ever ſeen to return. This ſentence was pronounced againſt him, but his former ſervices were ſuch as to have this puniſhment commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, the ſum which it had coſt the ſtate in fitting out the late unſucceſsful expedition. Not being rich enough to pay this ſum, he was thrown into priſon, where his wound growing worſe, from bad air and confinement, it turned at laſt to a gangrene, and put an end to his life and misfortunes.

Cimon, his ſon, who was at this time very young, ſignalized his piety on this occaſion. As this ungrateful city would not permit the body of Miltiades to be buried until all his debts were paid, this young man employed all his intereſt among his friends, and ſtrained his utmoſt credit to pay the fine, and procured his father's body an honourable interment.

Miltiades

Miltiades has very juſtly been praiſed for his condeſcenſion, moderation and juſtice. To him Athens was indebted for all it's glory; he being the man who firſt taught her to deſpiſe the empty menaces of the boaſtful Perſian king.

CHAP. VI.

From the Death of Miltiades, to the Retreat of Xerxes out of Greece.

THE misfortunes of Darius only ſerved to increaſe his reſentment, and give ſpirit to his perſeverance. Finding the ill ſucceſs of his generals, he reſolved to try the war in perſon, and diſpatched orders throughout his whole dominions for freſh preparations. However, a revolt in Egypt for a while averted his reſentment; a conteſt among his ſons about nominating his ſucceſſor, ſtill farther retarded his deſigns; and at laſt, when he had ſurmounted every obſtacle, and was juſt preparing to take a ſignal vengeance, his death put an end to all his projects, and gave Greece a longer time for preparation.

Xerxes, his ſon, ſucceeded, who, with the empire, inherited alſo his father's animoſity againſt Greece. Having carried on a ſucceſsful expedition

tion againſt Egypt, he expected the ſame good fortune in Europe. Confident of victory, he did not chuſe, he ſaid, for the future, to buy the figs of Attica; he would poſſeſs himſelf of the country, and thus have figs of his own. But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought proper to aſſemble his council, and collect the opinions of the principal officers of his court. In his ſpeech at opening the council, he evidently ſhewed his deſire of revenge, and his paſſion for military glory. The beſt way, therefore, to pay court to this young monarch, was by flattering him in his favourite purſuits, and giving his impetuous aims the air of ſtudied deſigns. Mardonius, grown neither wiſer nor leſs ambitious by his own bad ſucceſs, began by extolling Xerxes above all other kings that had gone before. He urged the indiſpenſible neceſſity of avenging the diſhonour done to the Perſian name; he repreſented the Greeks as cowards, that were accidentally ſucceſsful; and was firmly of opinion, that they would never more ſtand even the hazard of a battle. A diſcourſe that ſo nearly coincided with his own ſentiments, was very pleaſing to the young monarch; and the reſt of the company, by their looks and their ſilence, ſeemed to applaud his impetuoſity. But Artabanus, the king's uncle, who had long learned to reverence courage, even

in an enemy, and preſuming upon his age and experience to ſpeak his real ſentiments, roſe with an honeſt freedom to repreſent the intended expedition in its true light. "Permit me, ſir," ſaid he, "to deliver my ſentiments upon this occaſion, "with a liberty ſuitable to my age, and your in- "tereſt. When Darius, your father and my bro- "ther, firſt thought of making war againſt the "Scythians, I uſed all my endeavour to divert "him from it. The people you are going to at- "tack are infinitely more formidable than they. "If the Athenians alone could defeat the nume- "rous army commanded by Datis and Artapher- "nes, what ought we to expect from an oppoſition "of all the ſtates of Greece united? You deſign "to paſs from Aſia into Europe, by laying a "bridge over the ſea. But what if the Athenians "ſhould advance and deſtroy this bridge, and ſo "prevent our return? Let us not expoſe ourſelves "to ſuch dangers, as we have no ſufficient mo- "tives to compel us to face them; at leaſt let us "take time to reflect upon it. When we have "maturely deliberated upon an affair, whatever "happens to be the ſucceſs of it, we have no- "thing to regret. Precipitation is imprudent, "and is uſually unſucceſsful. Above all, do not "ſuffer yourſelf, great prince, to be dazzled with "the ſplendor of imaginary glory. The higheſt

"and

" and the moſt lofty trees have the moſt reaſon to " dread the thunder. God loves to humble the " oſtentatious, and reſerves to himſelf alone the " pride of importance. As for you, Mardonius, " who ſo earneſtly urge this expedition, if it muſt " be ſo, lead it forward. But let the king, whoſe " life is dear to us all, return back to Perſia. In " the mean time, let your children and mine be " given up as a pledge to anſwer for the ſucceſs " of the war. If the iſſue be favourable, I con- " ſent that mine be put to death; but if it be " otherwiſe, as I well foreſee, then I deſire that " you and your children may meet the reward of " raſhneſs."

This advice, which was rather ſincere than palatable, was received by Xerxes with a degree of rage and reſentment. " Thank the gods," cried he, " that thou art my father's brother: were it " not for that, thou ſhouldſt this moment meet the " juſt reward of thy audacious behaviour. But " you ſhall have your puniſhment. Remain here " behind, among the women; theſe you but too " much reſemble in your cowardice and fear. " Stay here, while I march at the head of my " troops where my duty and glory call me." Upon cooler thoughts, however, Xerxes ſeemed better reconciled to his uncle's opinion. When the firſt emotions of his anger were over, and he

had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counſels that were given him, he confeſſed the raſhneſs of his former rebuke, and ingenuouſly aſcribed it to heat of youth, and the ardour of paſſion. He offered to come over to his opinion, at the ſame time aſſuring the council, that from his dreams he had every encouragement to proceed with the expedition. So much condeſcenſion on the one hand, and ſuch favourable omens on the other, determined the whole council to ſecond his inclinations. They fell proſtrate before him, eager to ſhew their ſubmiſſion and their joy. A monarch thus ſurrounded by flatterers, all ſtriving which ſhould moſt gratify his pride and paſſions, could not long continue good, though naturally inclined to virtue. Xerxes, therefore, ſeems a character thus ruined by power; exerting his natural juſtice and wiſdom at ſhort intervals, but then giving way to the moſt culpable and extravagant exceſſes. Thus the counſel of Artabanus being rejected, and that of Mardonius favourably received, the moſt extenſive preparations were made for carrying on the war.

The greatneſs of theſe preparations ſeemed to ſhew the high ſenſe which the Perſians had of their enemy. Xerxes, that he might omit nothing conducive to ſucceſs, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, who were, at that time, the moſt

moſt potent people of the Weſt; with whom it was ſtipulated, that while the Perſian forces ſhould attack Greece, the Carthaginians ſhould awe the Greek colonies, diſperſed over the Mediterranean, from coming to their aſſiſtance. Thus having drained all the Eaſt to compoſe his own army, and the Weſt to ſupply that of the Carthaginians under Amilcar, he ſet out from Suſa in order to enter upon this war, ten years after the battle of Marathon. A. M. 3523.

Sardis was the place where the various nations that were compelled to his banner were to aſſemble. His fleet was to advance along the coaſts of Aſia Minor towards the Helleſpont. But as in doubling the cape of Mount Athos many ſhips were detained, he was reſolved to cut a paſſage through that neck of land which joined the mountain to the continent, and thus give his ſhipping a ſhorter and ſafer paſſage. This canal was a mile and a half long, and hollowed out from a high mountain. It required immenſe labour to perform ſo great a work, but his numbers and his ambition were ſufficient to ſurmount all difficulties. To urge on the undertaking the faſter, he treated his laboures with the greateſt ſeverity; while with all the oſtentation of an eaſtern prince, he gave his commands to the mountain to ſink before him: *Athos, thou proud, aſpiring mountain, that lifteſt up*

thy head unto the heavens, be not ſo audacious as to put obſtacles in my way. If thou giveſt me that oppoſition, I will cut thee level to the plain, and throw thee headlong into the ſea.

As this monarch paſſed on in his march to the place of general deſtination, he went through Cappadocia, croſſed the river Halys, and came to Calene, a city of Phrygia, near the ſource of the river Meander. He was there met by Pythias, a Lydian prince, who, by the moſt extreme parſimony and oppreſſion, had become, next to Xerxes, the moſt opulent man in all the Perſian empire. His treaſures, however, were not ſufficient to buy off the attendance of his eldeſt ſon, whom he requeſted might be permitted to remain with him, as he was old and helpleſs. He had before offered his money, which amounted to about four millions ſterling, for the monarch's uſe; but this Xerxes had refuſed; and now, finding the young prince willing to remain with his father, he was ſo enraged, that he commanded him to be put to death before his father's eyes. Then cauſing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part of it to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army paſs between them, to terrify them from a reluctance to engage, by his example.

From Phrygia Xerxes marched to Sardis, and, in the opening of ſpring, directed his march down towards the Helleſpont, where his fleet lay in all their pomp, expecting his arrival. Here being arrived, he was deſirous of taking a ſurvey of all his forces, which compoſed an army which was never equalled either before or ſince. It was compoſed of the moſt powerful nations of the Eaſt, and of people ſcarce known to poſterity, except by name. The remoteſt India contributed its ſupplies, while the coldeſt tracts of Scythia ſent their aſſiſtance. Medes, Perſians, Bactrians, Lydians, Aſſyrians, Hyrcanians, and an hundred other countries, of various forms, complexions, languages, dreſſes, and arms. The land army which he brought out of Aſia, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and fourſcore thouſand horſe. Three hundred thouſand more, that were added upon croſſing the Helleſpont, made all his land forces together amount to above two millions of men. His fleet, when it ſet out from Aſia, conſiſted of twelve hundred and ſeven veſſels, each carrying two hundred men. The Europeans augmented his fleet with an hundred and twenty veſſels, each of which carried two hundred men. Beſides theſe there were a thouſand ſmaller veſſels, fitted for carrying proviſions and ſtores; the men contained in theſe, with the former, amounted to

ſix hundred thouſand; ſo that the whole army might be ſaid to amount to two millions and an half, which, with the women, ſlaves, and ſuttlers, always accompanying a Perſian army, might make the whole above five millions of ſouls: a number, if rightly conducted, capable of overturning the greateſt monarchy; but being commanded by preſumption and ignorance, they only ſerved to obſtruct and embarraſs each other.

Lord of ſo many and ſuch various ſubjects, Xerxes found a pleaſure in reviewing his forces, and was deſirous of beholding a naval engagement, of which he had not hitherto been a ſpectator. To this end a throne was erected for him upon an eminence, and in that ſituation beholding all the earth covered with his troops, and all the ſea crowded with his veſſels, he felt a ſecret joy diffuſe itſelf through his frame, from the conſciouſneſs of his own ſuperior power. But all the workings of this monarch's mind were in extreme: a ſudden ſadneſs ſoon took place of his pleaſure, and diſſolving in a ſhower of tears, he gave himſelf up to the reflection, that not one of ſo many thouſands would be alive a hundred years after.

Artabanes, who neglected no opportunity of moralizing upon every occurrence, took this occaſion to diſcourſe with him upon the ſhortneſs and miſeries of human life. Finding this more diſtant

diſtant ſubject attended to, he ſpoke more cloſely to the preſent occaſion, inſinuated his doubts of the ſucceſs of the expedition; urged the many inconveniences the army had to ſuffer, if not from the enemy, at leaſt from their own numbers. He alledged, that plagues, famine, and confuſion, were the neceſſary attendants of ſuch ungovernable multitudes by land, and that empty fame was the only reward of ſucceſs. But it was now too late to turn this young monarch from his purpoſe. Xerxes informed his monitor, that great actions were always attended with proportionable danger; and that if his predeceſſors had obſerved ſuch ſcrupulous and timorous rules of conduct, the Perſian empire would never have attained to its preſent height of glory.

Xerxes, in the mean time, had given orders for building a bridge of boats acroſs the Helleſpont, for the tranſporting his army into Europe. This narrow ſtrait, which now goes by the name of the Dardanelles, is near an Engliſh mile over. But ſoon after the completion of this work, a violent ſtorm ariſing, the whole was broken and deſtroyed, and the labour was to be undertaken anew. The fury of Xerxes upon this diſappointment, was attended with equal extravagance and cruelty. His vengeance knew no bounds; the workmen who had undertaken the taſk, had their heads ſtruck off

off by his order; and that the ſea itſelf alſo might know its duty, he ordered it to be laſhed as a delinquent, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it to curb its future irregularities. Thus having given vent to his abſurd reſentment, two bridges were ordered to be built in the place of the former, one for the army to paſs over, and the other for the baggage and the beaſts of burthen. The workmen, now warned by the fate of their predeceſſors, undertook to give their labours greater ſtability; they placed three hundred and ſixty veſſels acroſs the ſtrait, ſome of them having three banks of oars, and others fifty oars a piece. They then caſt large anchors into the water on both ſides, in order to fix theſe veſſels againſt the violence of the winds, and the current. They then drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings faſtened to them, to which were tied ſix vaſt cables, which went over each of the two bridges. Over all theſe they laid trunks of trees, cut purpoſely for that uſe, and flat boats again over them, faſtened and joined together, ſo as to ſerve for a floor or ſolid bottom. When the whole work was thus completed, a day was appointed for their paſſing over; and as ſoon as the firſt rays of the ſun began to appear, ſweet odours of all kinds were abundantly ſcattered over the new work, and the way was ſtrewed with myrtle. At the ſame

time

time Xerxes poured out libations into the ſea, and turning his face towards the Eaſt, worſhipped that bright luminary which is the god of the Perſians. Then, throwing the veſſel which had held his libation into the ſea, together with a golden cup and Perſian ſcymitar, he went forward, and gave orders for the army to follow. This immenſe train were no leſs than ſeven days and ſeven nights paſſing over, while thoſe who were appointed to conduct the march, quickened the troops by laſhing them along; for the ſoldiers of the Eaſt, at that time and to this very day, are treated like ſlaves.

Thus this immenſe army having landed in Europe, and being joined by the ſeveral European nations that acknowledged the Perſian power, Xerxes prepared for marching directly forward into Greece. Beſide the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their reſpective countries, the land army was commanded by ſix Perſian generals, to whom all the reſt were ſubordinate. Theſe were Mardonius, Tirintatechmus, Smerdonus, Maſſiſtus, Gergis, and Megabyzus. Ten thouſand Perſians, who were called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes, while the cavalry and the fleet had their own reſpective commanders. Beſide thoſe who were attached to Xerxes from principle, there were

were ſome Greek princes, who, either from motives of intereſt or fear, followed him in this expedition. Among theſe were Artemiſia, queen of Halicarnaſſus, who, after the death of her huſband, governed the kingdom for her ſon. She had brought indeed but the trifling ſuccour of five ſhips, but ſhe had made ample amends by her ſuperior prudence, courage and conduct. Of this number alſo was Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, who, reſenting the indignity put upon him by his ſubjects, took refuge in the Perſian court, an indignant ſpectator of its luxuries and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion. Being one day aſked by Xerxes if he thought the Grecians would dare to await his approach, or would venture an engagement with armies that drank up whole rivers in their march, "Alas, great prince, cried Demaratus, Greece, from the beginning of time, has been trained up and accuſtomed to poverty; but the defects of that are amply recompenſed by virtue, which wiſdom cultivates, and the laws ſupport in vigour. As for the Lacedæmonians, as they have been bred up in freedom, they can never ſubmit to be ſlaves. Though all the reſt of the Greeks ſhould forſake them, though they ſhould be reduced to a band of a thouſand men, yet ſtill they would face every danger, to preſerve what they hold dearer than life. They have laws, which they obey with more implicit

implicit reverence than your ſubjects are obeyed by you. By theſe laws they are forbid to fly in battle, and they have only the alternative to conquer or die." Xerxes was not offended with the liberty of Demaratus, but, ſmiling at his blunt ſincerity, ordered his army to march forward, while he had directed his fleet to follow him along the coaſt, and to regulate their courſe by his motions.

In this manner he purſued his courſe without any interruption; every nation near which he approached, ſending him all the marks of homage and ſubjection. Wherever he came, he found proviſions and refreſhments prepared before-hand, purſuant to the orders he had given. Every city he arrived at, exhauſted itſelf in giving him the moſt magnificent reception. The vaſt expence of theſe feaſts, gave a poor Thracian an opportunity of remarking, that it was a peculiar favour of the gods, that Xerxes could eat but one meal a day. Thus did he continue his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Theſſaly, every knee bending before him till he came to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, where he firſt found an army prepared to diſpute his paſſage.

This army was a body of Spartans, led on by Leonidas their king, who had been ſent thither to oppoſe him. As ſoon as it was known in Greece that

that Xerxes was preparing to invade that country, and that an army of millions were coming on with determined reſolution to ruin it, every ſtate ſeemed differently affected in proportion to its ſtrength, its courage, or its ſituation. The Sicilians refuſed their aid, being kept in awe by Amilcar the Carthaginian. The Corcyreans pretended that they were wind-bound, and would not let their ſhips ſtir from the harbour. The Cretans, having conſulted the Delphic oracle, abſolutely determined to remain inactive. The Theſſalians and Macedonians, from their ſituation, were obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror, ſo that no ſtates were found bold enough to face this formidable army but Athens and Lacedæmon. Theſe ſtates had received intelligence of the Perſian deſigns from Demaratus, long before they had been put into execution. They had alſo ſent ſpies to Sardis, in order to have a more exact information of the number and quality of the enemy's forces. The ſpies indeed were ſeized, but Xerxes ordered them to be conducted through his army, and to give an exact account of what they had ſeen at their return. They had ſent deputies to all the neighbouring ſtates to awaken their ardour, to apprize them of their danger, and to urge the neceſſity of fighting for their common ſafety. But all their remonſtrances were vain; fear, aſſuming the name

of

of prudence, offered frivolous excuſes, or terms which were inadmiſſible. Relying therefore on their own ſtrength, theſe generous ſtates reſolved to face the danger with joint forces, and conquer or fall in the cauſe of freedom. Having ſummoned a general council at the Iſthmus, they there ſolemnly reſolved to wave all private quarrels or pretenſions, and join againſt the common danger.

One cannot, without aſtoniſhment, reflect on the intrepidity of the Greeks, who determined to face the innumerable army of Xerxes with ſuch diſproportioned forces. All their forces joined together, amounted only to eleven thouſand two hundred men. But they were all ſoldiers, bred amidſt fatigue and danger, all determined to a man either to conquer or die. Their firſt care, however, was to appoint a general. It was then that the moſt able and experienced captains, terrified at the danger, had taken the reſolution of not preſenting themſelves as candidates. Epicydes indeed, a great orator, but a man of ignorance, avarice, and preſumption, was ready to lead them on; but under his guidance, nothing could be hoped for but confuſion and diſappointment. In this preſſing juncture, therefore, Themiſtocles, conſcious of his own capacity, and warmed with a love of glory, which was great in proportion to the danger, reſolved to uſe every art to get himſelf

ſelf appointed to the command. For this purpoſe he uſed all his intereſt, and even diſtributed bribes to remove his competitor; and having gratified the avarice of Epicydes, which was his ruling paſſion, he ſoon found himſelf appointed to the command, which was the darling object of his ambition.

But in this preſſing exigence, it was incumbent on the Athenians to avail themſelves of every perſon that might be ſerviceable, however obnoxious he might appear to their reſentment. There were many uſeful citizens whom they had upon ſome factious diſcontents, ſent into baniſhment, and theſe they now repentingly wiſhed to reſtore. Among this number was Ariſtides, that brave and juſt man, who had, at the battle of Marathon, and upon other occaſions, been inſtrumental in gaining their victories; and who had upon all occaſions, improved them by the diſintereſtedneſs and integrity of his example. This magiſtrate having had many conteſts with Themiſtocles, who was his rival in power and fame, and always wiſhed to ſupplant him, was at length condemned to go into baniſhment by the power of his prevailing faction. It was on that occaſion that a peaſant, who could not write, and did not know Ariſtides perſonally, applied to himſelf and deſired him to write the name of Ariſtides upon the ſhell by which

which his vote was given againſt him. "Has he done you any wrong," ſaid Ariſtides, "that you are for condemning him in this manner?" "*No*," replied the peaſant, "*but I hate to hear him praiſed for his juſtice.*" Ariſtides, without ſaying a word more, calmly took the ſhell, wrote down his name upon it, and contentedly retired into baniſhment. But the preſent diſtreſſes of his country were now an object that ſtrongly ſolicited his return. Even Themiſtocles, his rival, was ſo far from remembering his old reſentments, that he now ardently deſired the aſſiſtance of his counſel, and gave up all his private reſentments to the good of the ſtate. The hatred of theſe great men had nothing in it of that bitter and implacable ſpirit, which prevailed among the Romans in the latter times of the republic, or perhaps the deſperate ſituation of their country might only occupy their thoughts at that time.

But the preparations by land alone were not ſufficient to repel the growing danger. If the Greeks had truſted to their land armies, without further ſuccour, they muſt have been undone. Themiſtocles, who ſaw that the victory of Marathon muſt be followed by many more before ſafety could be aſcertained, had prudently cauſed an hundred gallies to be built, and turned all his thoughts to give Athens a ſuperiority at ſea. The

oracle had declared ſome time before, that Athens ſhould only defend herſelf with wooden walls; and he took the advantage of that ambiguity to perſuade his countrymen, that by ſuch walls was only meant her ſhipping. He had the addreſs to procure ſome money annually coming in from ſilver mines, which the Athenians had in their diſtrict, to the purpoſes of equipping and manning this fleet; and now, upon the approach of Xerxes, the confederates found themſelves at the head of a very powerful ſquadron of two hundred and eighty ſail, the command of which was conferred upon Eurybiades, a Lacedæmonian.

When the news came to Athens, that the Perſians were on the point of invading Greece, and that to this end they were tranſporting their forces by ſea, Themiſtocles adviſed his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their gallies, and meet their enemies while they were yet at a diſtance. To this expedient they would by no means conſent. He then put himſelf at the head of their army.

All meaſures being taken that this brave confederacy could deviſe, it next remained to ſettle in what place they ſhould firſt meet the Perſians in the field, in order to diſpute their entrance into Greece. The people of Theſſaly repreſented, that as they were moſt expoſed, and firſt liable to

be attacked by the enemy, it was but reaſonable that their ſecurity ſhould be the firſt object of attention. The Greeks, willing to protect all who would declare in their quarrel, in purſuance of this requeſt, reſolved to ſend their chief forces to guard the paſſage which ſeparates Macedonia from Theſſaly, near the river Peneus. But Alexander, the ſon of Amyntas, repreſenting that poſt as untenable, they were obliged to change their meaſures; and at laſt reſolved to ſend a body of men to guard the paſs at Thermopylæ, where a few were capable of acting againſt numbers.

Thermopylæ was a narrow paſs of twenty-five feet broad, between Theſſaly and Phocis, defended by the remains of a wall, with gates to it, formerly built by the Phocions, to ſecure them againſt the incurſions of their neighbouring enemy. From theſe gates, and ſome hot baths, which were at the entrance into the paſs, the ſtrait had its name. This was pitched upon, as well for the narrowneſs of the way, as for its vicinity to the ſea, from whence the land forces could occaſionally receive aſſiſtance from the fleet. The command of this important paſs was given to Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta, who led thither a body of ſix thouſand men. Of theſe three hundred were Spartans, the reſt conſiſting of Bœotians, Corinthians, Phocians, and Arcadians, all ſuch as in

the preſent exigency were prepared for the field, and were not afraid of the numbers of the enemy. Each of theſe had particular commanders of their own, but Leonidas had the conduct of the whole. But though the determined reſolution of theſe troops was incapable of being ſhaken, little was expected from the nature of their deſtination. They were all along taught to look upon themſelves as a forlorn hope, only placed there to check the progreſs of the enemy, and give them a foretaſte of the deſperate valour of Greece; nor were even oracles wanting to check their ardour. It had been declared, that to procure the ſafety of Greece, it was neceſſary that a king, one of the deſcendants of Hercules, ſhould die. This taſk was chearfully undertaken by Leonidas; and, as he marched out from Lacedæmon, he conſidered himſelf as a willing victim offered up for the good of his country. However, he joyfully put himſelf at the head of his little band, took poſſeſſion of his poſt, and, with deliberate deſperation, waited at Thermopylæ for the coming up of the Perſian army.

Xerxes, in the mean time, approached with his numerous army, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and confident of victory. His camp exhibited all the marks of eaſtern magnificence and Aſiatic luxury. He expected to meet no obſtruction on his

his way to Greece: he led on his forces rather to terrify the enemy than to fight them; great, therefore, was his ſurprize, to find that a few deſperate men were determined to diſpute his paſſage. He had all along flattered himſelf, that on the firſt hearing of his arrival the Grecians would betake themſelves to flight; nor could he ever be perſuaded to believe what Demaratus had aſſured him, that at the firſt paſs he came to his whole army would be put to a ſtand. He himſelf took a view of their camp and entrenchments. The Lacedæmonians were ſome of them calmly amuſing themſelves with military exerciſes, others with combing their long hair. He enquired the reaſon of this conduct; and he was informed, that it was the Spartan manner of preparing themſelves for battle. Still, however, entertaining ſome hopes of their flight, he waited four days to give them time to reflect on the greatneſs of their danger; but they ſtill continued gay and unconcerned, as men who regarded death as the end of labour. He ſent to them to deliver up their arms. Leonidas, with truly Spartan contempt, deſired him to *come and take them.* He offered, if they would lay down their arms, to receive them as friends, and to give them a country much larger and better than what they fought for. No country, they replied, was worth acceptance, unleſs won by virtue;

tue; and that for their arms, they ſhould want them, whether as his friends or enemies. Upon this, the monarch addreſſed himſelf to Demaratus, aſking, if theſe deſperate men could expect to out-run his horſes? Demaratus anſwered, that they would fight it out to the laſt, and not a man of them would ſurvive his country's freedom. Some men were heard to ſay, that the Perſians were ſo numerous, that their darts would darken the ſun. Dieneces, a Spartan, replied, Then we ſhall fight in the ſhade.

Xerxes, thus treated with contempt, at length ordered a body of Medes to advance; deſiring ſuch as had loſt any of their relations at the battle of Marathon, to take their revenge upon the preſent occaſion. Accordingly they began the onſet, but were repulſed with great loſs. The number of the aſſailants only ſerved to increaſe their confuſion; and it now began to appear, that Xerxes had many followers, but few ſoldiers. Theſe forces being routed by the Grecian troops, the Perſian Immortal Band was brought up, conſiſting of ten thouſand men, to oppoſe them. But theſe were as unſucceſsful as the former. The charge was renewed the next day, Xerxes endeavouring to inſpire his troops with the promiſes of reward, ſince he found they were dead to the ſenſe of ſhame. But though their charge was violent,

violent, it was unſupported; and the Greeks ſtanding cloſely connected in a body, withſtood the ſhock, and filled the way with Perſian carcaſſes. During theſe unſucceſsful aſſaults Xerxes was a ſpectator, ſitting upon his throne, placed upon an eminence, and directing the order of battle, impetuous in his pride and reſentment, and now and then ſeen to leap from his ſeat when he beheld his troops in confuſion, or offering to give way.

Thus did the Greeks keep their ground for two days, and no power on earth ſeemed capable of removing them from their advantageous ſituation. Xerxes, out of all hopes of being able to force a paſſage, appeared under the greateſt conſternation; but he was relieved from his embaraſſment by the appearance of Epialtes, a Trachinian, who had deſerted from the enemy, and undertook to ſhew his troops a ſecret path, that led through the defiles of the mountains, and through which a body of forces might be led to fall upon the Grecians in the rear. He quickly, therefore, diſpatched a body of twenty thouſand men thither, who marching all night, arrived, at the break of day, at the top of the mountain, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantageous poſt.

The Greeks were ſoon apprized of this misfortune; and Leonidas, ſeeing that his poſt was no longer tenable, adviſed the troops of his allies to

retire, and reſerve themſelves for better times, and the future ſafety of Greece. As for himſelf, and his fellow Spartans, they were obliged by their laws not to fly; that he owed a life to his country, and that it was now his duty to fall in its defence. Thus, having diſmiſſed all but his three hundred Spartans, with ſome Theſpians and Thebans, in all not a thouſand men, he exhorted his followers in the moſt chearful manner to prepare for death. *Come, my fellow ſoldiers*, ſays he, *let us dine chearfully here, for to night we ſhall ſup with Pluto.* His men, upon hearing his determined purpoſe, ſet up a loud ſhout, as if they had been invited to a banquet, and reſolved every man to ſell his life as dearly as he could. The night now began to advance, and this was thought the moſt glorious opportunity of meeting death in the enemy's camp, where the ſilence would favour deſperation, and hide the ſmallneſs of their numbers. Thus reſolved, they made directly to the Perſian tents, and, in the darkneſs of the night, had almoſt reached the royal pavillion, with hopes of ſurpriſing the king. The obſcurity added much to the horror of the ſcene; and the Perſians, falling upon each other without diſtinction, rather aſſiſted the Grecians than defended themſelves. Thus ſucceſs ſeemed to crown the raſhneſs of their enterprize, until the morning beginning

beginning to dawn, the light diſcovered the ſmallneſs of their numbers. They were ſoon, therefore, ſurrounded by the Perſian forces, who, fearing to fall in upon them, flung their javelins from every quarter, till the Greeks, not ſo much conquered, as tired with conquering, fell amidſt heaps of the ſlaughtered enemy, leaving behind them an example of intrepidity never known before. Leonidas was one of the firſt that fell, and the endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. It was found after the battle, buried under a mountain of the dead, and was nailed to a croſs by way of infamy, by the brutal victor. Of all the train, two only eſcaped, whoſe names were Ariſtodemus and Panites. The latter, upon his return to Sparta, was branded with infamy, and treated with ſuch contempt, that he killed himſelf. Ariſtodemus reſerved himſelf for another occaſion, and by his bravery at the battle at Platea, recovered that honour which he had loſt. Some time after this tranſaction, the Amphyctions ordered a magnificent monument to be erected over thoſe brave defenders of their country, and Simonides, the poet, wrote their epitaph.

Xerxes in this battle is ſaid to have loſt twenty thouſand men, among whom were two of his brothers. But to conceal the greatneſs of his loſs from

from the army, he cauſed all but a thouſand of thoſe that were ſlain, to be be buried in holes indiſcriminately; however, this ſtratagem had very bad ſucceſs, for when the ſoldiers of his fleet were curious ſome time after in taking a ſurvey of the field of battle, they diſcovered the artifice, and urged it as an act of flagrant impiety againſt him.

Diſmayed at an obſtinacy in the enemy that coſt him ſo dear, Xerxes was, for ſome time, more inclined to try his fortune at ſea, than to proceed immediately into the country, where he had learned from Demaratus, that eight thouſand Spartans, ſuch as he had but lately fought with, were ready to receive him. Accordingly, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ, there was an engagement at ſea between the two fleets. The Grecian fleet conſiſted of two hundred and ſeventy-one veſſels. That of the enemy had lately loſt four hundred veſſels in a ſhipwreck, but was ſtill greatly ſuperior to the fleet of the Grecians. To repair this loſs by a victory, two hundred Perſian veſſels had orders to take a compaſs and ſurprize the Grecians lying in the ſtraits of Eubœa; but the Grecians being apprized of their deſigns, ſet ſail by night, and ſo, by a counter-ſurpriſe, fell in with them while they were thus ſeparated from their main ſquadron, took and ſunk thirty, forced the reſt to ſea, and there, by ſtreſs of weather, they

they were all ſoon after either ſunk or ſtranded. Enraged at theſe diſappointments, the Perſians bore down the next day with their whole fleet, and drawing up in form of an half moon, made an offer of battle, which the Greeks as readily accepted. The Athenians, having been reinforced with three and fifty ſail, the battle was very obſtinate and bloody, and the ſucceſs pretty nearly equal on both ſides, ſo that both parties ſeemed content to retire in good order.

All theſe actions which paſſed near Artemiſa, though at that time indeciſive, yet ſerved not a little to animate and inſpire the Athenians, who were now taught to think that there was nothing either formidable in their numbers, or uſeful in the ſize of the Perſian ſhips. Thus ſtrengthening themſelves with the hopes of more ſplendid engagements, they ſailed away from Artemiſa and ſtopped at Salamis, where they might moſt conveniently aſſiſt the Athenians.

In the mean time, Xerxes, having entered with his numerous army into the country of Phocis, burning and plundering every town through which he paſſed. The inhabitants of Peloponneſus, who were naturally defended by their inacceſſible ſituation, as their country was joined to the continent only by a neck of land, thought it the moſt prudent way to defend the iſthmus by a wall, take ſhelter

ſhelter behind that rampart, and to leave the reſt of Greece to the mercy of the conqueror. The Athenians, however, whoſe country lay without the iſthmus, remonſtrated loudly againſt this deſertion, and endeavoured to perſuade the Greeks to face the enemy in the plain. But prudence prevailed, and Themiſtocles gave them to underſtand, that though their country ſhould be for a while overrun by the barbarous invader, yet they had ſtill their wooden walls to rely on, for their fleet was ready to tranſport them to ſuch of their ſettlements as they thought proper. At firſt, however, this advice was the moſt hateful that could be imagined. The people thought themſelves inevitably loſt if they ſhould once abandon the temples of their gods, and the tombs of their anceſtors. But Themiſtocles uſing all his eloquence and addreſs to work upon their paſſions, repreſented to them that Athens did not conſiſt either of its walls or its houſes, but of its citizens, and that the ſaving of theſe was the true preſervation of the ſtate. A decree therefore was paſſed, by which it was ordained, that Athens for a while ſhould be given up in truſt to the gods, and that all the inhabitants, whether in freedom or ſlavery, ſhould embark on board the fleet. When they began to prepare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourſe to the council of Areopagus, who, from funds to

us

us unknown, diſtributed eight drachmas to every man who went on board. In this calamitous deſertion Cimon, though very young, was ſeen encouraging the citizens by his words and example. Bearing in his hand a part of his horſe's furniture, he went to offer it as now uſeleſs in the temple of Minerva, and then going down to the water-ſide, was the firſt that cheerfully went on board. When he was followed by the reſt of the city, ſo moving and melancholy a ſight drew tears even from the moſt obdurate. A brave, generous, polite, and ancient people, now forced from their native ſeats, to undergo all the viciſſitudes and dangers of the ſea; to implore a retreat from foreign ſtates, and give up their native lands to the ſpoiler, was a moſt moving ſpectacle. Yet the ſteadineſs and courage of ſome, and the pious reſignation of all, demanded the utmoſt admiration. The young and adventurous embarked for Salamis, the old, the women, and children, took ſhelter at the city of Trezene, the inhabitants of which generouſly offered them an aſylum. They even allowed them a maintenance at the expence of the public, permitted their children to gather fruit wherever they pleaſed, and appointed maſters for their inſtruction. But in this general deſertion, that which extremely raiſed the compaſſion of all, was the great number of old men they were obliged

obliged to leave in the city, on account of their age and infirmities. Many alſo voluntarily remained behind, believing that the citadel, which they had fortified with wooden ramparts, was what the oracle pointed out for general ſecurity. To heighten this ſcene of general diſtreſs, the matrons were ſeen clinging with fond affection to the places in which they had ſo long reſided; the wives filled the ſtreets with loud lamentations, and even the poor domeſtic animals ſeemed to take a part in the general concern. It was impoſſible to ſee thoſe poor creatures run howling and crying after their maſters, who were going on ſhip-board, without being ſtrongly affected. Among theſe, the faithfulneſs of a particular dog is recorded, who jumped into the ſea after his maſter, and continued ſwimming as near as he could to the veſſel till he landed at Salamis, and died the moment after upon the ſhore. Thoſe few inhabitants that remained behind retired into the citadel, where, literally interpreting the oracle, they fortified it as well as they could, and patiently awaited the invader's approach.

Whilſt Xerxes was continuing his march, he was told that the Grecians were employed in ſeeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia. It was not without indignation that he found his power ſo little able to terrify his enemies,

mies, or interrupt their amuſements. Having ſent off a conſiderable detachment of his army to plunder the temple at Delphos, with the reſt he marched down into Attica, where he found Athens deſerted of all but a few in the citadel. Theſe men deſpairing of ſuccour, and unwilling to ſurvive the loſs of their country, would liſten to no terms of accommodation; they boldly withſtood the firſt aſſault, and, and warmed by enthuſiaſm of religion, began to hope for ſucceſs. But a ſecond aſſault carried their feeble out-works; they were all put to the ſword, and the citadel reduced to aſhes. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, Xerxes diſpatched a meſſenger to Suſa with the news of his victories, and, at the ſame time, ſent home a great number of pictures and ſtatues, among which were thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton.

In the mean time, the confederate Greeks ſummoned a council of war, to conſult upon the proper manner and place of oppoſing this barbarous inundation. With reſpect to the operations by land, it was univerſally determined to defend the iſthmus by a wall, and Cleombrotus, the brother of Leonidas, was appointed to command that ſtation; but as to the operations at ſea, theſe were not ſo generally agreed on. Eurybiades the Spartan, who was appointed to the command of the fleet, was for having it advance near the iſthmus, that

that it might co-operate with the army at land; but Themiſtocles was entirely of another opinion, and aſſerted, that it would be the moſt manifeſt error to abandon ſo advantageous a poſt as that of Salamis, where they were then ſtationed. They were now, he ſaid, in poſſeſſion of the narrow ſeas, where the number of the enemy could never avail them; that the only hope now left the Athenians was their fleet, and that this muſt not be capriciouſly given up by ignorance to the enemy. Eurybiades, who conſidered himſelf as glanced at, could not contain his reſentment, but offered to ſtrike Themiſtocles for his inſolence. *Strike me*, cried the Athenian, *ſtrike me, but hear me.* His moderation and his reaſoning prevailed; the generals were reconciled to each other, and the reſult of the council was, that they ſhould prepare to receive the Perſians on the iſthmus by land, and in the ſtraits of Salamis by ſea.

Meanwhile Xerxes, after having demoliſhed and burnt Athens, marched down toward the ſea, to act in conjunction with his fleet, which he had determined ſhould once more come to an engagement with the enemy. This was what Themiſtocles moſt ardently deſired in his preſent ſituation, but he was fearful his confederates would not have courage to abide the encounter. Their thoughts were ſtill bent upon ſailing towards the iſthmus, and

and aſſiſting their army in caſe of diſtreſs. Themiſtocles, therefore, in this exigence, was obliged to have recourſe to one of thoſe ſtratagems which mark ſuperiority of genius: he contrived to let Xerxes privately underſtand, that the confederates were now aſſembled at Salamis, preparing for flight, and that it would be an eaſy taſk to attack and deſtroy them. This information was attended with the deſired ſucceſs. Xerxes gave orders to his fleet to ſurround Salamis by night, in order to prevent an eſcape, which he ſo much dreaded.

In this manner the Grecian fleet was blocked up, and no ſafety remained but in intrepidity and conqueſt. Even Themiſtocles himſelf was not apprized of the ſituation of his own forces and that of the enemy; all the narrow ſtraits were blocked up, and the reſt of the Perſian fleet were ſent for, to make every paſſage impracticable. In this exigence Ariſtides, in whoſe boſom the love of his country always prevailed over every private revenge, was reſolved to venture all, in order to apprize Themiſtocles of his ſituation and danger. He was then at Egina, where he had ſome forces under his command, and with very great danger ventured in a ſmall boat through all the fleet of the enemy's by night. Upon landing he made up to the tent of Themiſtocles, and addreſſed him in the following manner:—"If we are wiſe, The-

" miſtocles, we ſhall henceforth lay aſide thoſe " vain and puerile diſſenſions which have hitherto " ſeparated us. One ſtrife, and a noble emula- " tion it is, now remains for us, which of us ſhall " be moſt ſerviceable to our country. It is your's " to command as a general, it is mine to obey as " a ſubject; and happy ſhall I be, if my advice " can any way contribute to your and my coun- " try's glory." He then informed him of the fleet's real ſituation, and warmly exhorted him to give battle without delay. Themiſtocles felt all that generous gratitude which ſo diſintereſted a conduct demanded; and, eager to ſhew a return of noble friendſhip, let him into all his projects and aims, particularly this laſt, of ſuffering himſelf to be ſurrounded. After this, they uſed their joint authority with the other commanders to perſuade them to engage, and accordingly both fleets prepared themſelves for battle.

The Grecian fleet conſiſted of three hundred and eighty ſhips, the Perſian fleet was much more numerous; but whatever advantage they had in numbers, and the ſize of their ſhips, they fell infinitely ſhort of the Greeks in their naval ſkill, and their acquaintance with the ſeas where they fought; but it was particularly in their commander that the Greeks had the advantage. Eurybiades had nominally the conduct of the fleet, but Themiſtocles

Themiſtocles in reality conducted all their operations. Nothing eſcaped his vigilance, and he knew how to improve every incident to the greateſt advantage. He therefore deferred the onſet until a wind, which at that time of the year was periodical, and which he knew would be favourable, ſhould ſet in. As ſoon as this aroſe, the ſignal was given for battle, and the Grecian fleet ſailed forward in exact order.

Xerxes imputing his former ill ſucceſs at ſea to his own abſence, was reſolved to be a witneſs of the preſent engagement, from the top of a promontory, where he cauſed a throne to be erected for that purpoſe. This ſerved, in ſome meaſure, to animate his forces, who, conſcious of their king's obſervance of them, reſolved to merit his applauſe. The Perſians, therefore, advanced with ſuch courage and impetuoſity, as ſtruck the enemy with terror, but their ardour abated when the engagement became cloſer. The numerous diſadvantages of their circumſtances and ſituation then began to appear. The wind blew directly in their faces; the height and heavineſs of their veſſels rendered them unwieldy and uſeleſs; even the number of their ſhips in the narrow ſea where they fought, only ſerved to embarraſs and increaſe their confuſion. The Ionians, whom Themiſtocles had implored, by characters engraven along

the rocks of the coaſt, to remember from whence they derived their original, were the firſt who betook themſelves to flight. In the other wing the conteſt was for ſome time doubtful, until the Phœnicians and Cyprians being driven on ſhore, the reſt retired in great diſorder, and fell foul of each other in their retreat. In this total defection, Artemiſa alone ſeemed to ſtop the progreſs of victory; and, at the head of her five ſhips, performed incredible acts of valour. Xerxes, who was a ſpectator of her conduct, could not help crying out, that his ſoldiers behaved like women in the conflict, and the women like ſoldiers. As this queen, from her ſignal intrepidity, was become very obnoxious to the Athenians, a price was ſet upon her head: ſenſible of which, as ſhe was upon the point of falling into their hands, by a lucky turn of thought, ſhe pretended to deſert from her own party, and to fall foul of one of their ſhips. The Greeks thus concluding that ſhe either belonged to them, or was a deſerter, permitted her to eſcape. In the mean time the confederates purſued the Perſian fleet on every ſide; ſome were intercepted at the ſtraits of Attica, many were ſunk, and more taken. Above two hundred were burnt, all the reſt were diſperſed; and the allies, dreading the reſentment of the Greeks, as well

well as of the Perſian king, made the beſt of their way to their own country.

Such was the ſucceſs of the battle of Salamis, in which the Perſians had received a ſeverer blow than they had ever hitherto experienced from Greece. Themiſtocles, in a ſecret converſation with Ariſtides, was, or pretended to be ſo elated, as to propoſe breaking down the bridge by which Xerxes had made his way into Europe. Whether Themiſtocles was really ſincere in the propoſal remains a doubt; but Ariſtides uſed all his powers to diſſuade his coadjutor from ſuch an undertaking. He repreſented to him the danger of reducing ſo powerful an enemy to deſperation, and aſſerted, that it was his wiſh to be relieved from ſuch an uſurper with all poſſible diſpatch. Themiſtocles at once acquieſced in his reaſons; and, in order to haſten the king's departure, contrived to have him ſecretly informed, that the Grecians deſigned to break down the bridge.

The ſituation of Xerxes was ſuch, that the ſmalleſt repulſe was now ſufficient to wean him from his darling expedition. Aſtoniſhed at the late overthrow, and alarmed at this new information, he only wanted a decent pretext for retreating, when Mardonius came conveniently to extricate him from his embarraſſments. He began by extenuating the late loſs, and the many expedients

that remained to relieve their ſituation; he laid all the blame of their defeat upon the cowardice of the auxiliaries, and their inſincere attachment to his cauſe. He adviſed him to return ſpeedily to his kingdom, leſt his ill ſucceſs and fame, which always repreſents things worſe than they are, ſhould occaſion any commotions in his abſence. He engaged, if he would leave him three hundred thouſand of his choice troops, to ſubdue all Greece with glory. On the other hand, if the event proved otherwiſe, he would take all the blame of miſcarriage, and ſuffer in perſon, if it were to retrieve the honour of his maſter. This advice was very well received by Xerxes, who, thinking enough had been given to glory, when he had made himſelf maſter of Athens, prepared to return to Perſia at the head of a part of his army; leaving the other part of it with Mardonius, not ſo much with the hopes of reducing Greece, as through the fear of being purſued.

Theſe reſolutions were communicated in a council held ſoon after the fight; and the night following the fleet ſet ſail in great confuſion towards the Helleſpont, and took up their winter quarters at Cuma. The king himſelf leaving the generals to take care of the army, haſtened with a ſmall retinue to the ſea ſide, which he reached forty-five days after the battle of Salamis. When he arrived

arrived at that place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, in a tempeſt that had lately happened. He was therefore obliged to paſs the ſtrait in a ſmall boat; which manner of returning, being compared to the oſtentatious method in which he had ſet out, rendered his diſgrace ſtill more poignant and afflicting. The army which he had ordered to follow him, having been unprovided with proviſions, ſuffered great hardſhips by the way. After having conſumed all the corn they could find, they were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. Thus harraſſed and fatigued, a peſtilence began to complete their miſery; and, after a fatiguing journey of forty-five days, in which they were purſued rather by vultures and beaſts of prey, than by men, they came to the Helleſpont, where they croſſed over. They marched from thence to Sardis. Such was the end of Xerxes's expedition into Greece: a meaſure begun in pride, and terminated in infamy. It is to be obſerved, however, that we have all this account from the Greek writers only, who, no doubt, have been partial to their countrymen. I am told, that the Perſian hiſtorians repreſent this expedition in a very different light; and ſay, that the king was recalled, in the midſt of his ſucceſſes, to quell an inſurrection at home. Be this as it

will, the affairs of Perſia ſeemed after that to go backward, until the time when Alexander led a conquering army of Greeks to invade them in turn.

CHAP. VII.

FROM THE RETREAT OF XERXES, TO THE PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND PERSIANS.

A. M. 3524. THE firſt object the Greeks attended to after the battle of Salamis, was to ſend the firſt fruits of the rich ſpoil they had taken from the Perſians to Delphos. Conſidered in a confederated light, they were ever attentive to the duties of religion; and though their ſects and opinions in philoſophy taught mankind to entertain but very mean ideas of the objects of public worſhip, yet it was religion that formed their bond of union, and for a while held them feebly together. When that bond came to be broken, and the council of the Amphictyons became rather a political than a religious aſſembly, the general union no longer prevailed, and the different ſtates fell a ſacrifice to their own contentions.

The

The joy of the Greeks upon this victory was general and loud: every commander had his ſhare of honour, but the glory of Themiſtocles eclipſed that of all the reſt. It was a cuſtom in Greece, that after a battle the commanding officers ſhould declare who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt, by writing the names of ſuch as merited the firſt and ſecond rewards. On this occaſion, each officer concerned adjudged the firſt rank to himſelf, but all allowed the ſecond to Themiſtocles, which was, in fact, allowing him a tacit ſuperiority. This was farther confirmed by the Lacedæmonians, who carried him in triumph to Sparta; and who, having adjudged the reward of valour to their own countryman, Eurybiades, adjudged that of wiſdom to Themiſtocles. They crowned him with olive, preſented him with a rich chariot, and conducted him with three hundred horſe to the confines of their ſtate. But there was an homage paid him that flattered his pride yet more: when he appeared at the Olympic games, the ſpectators received him with uncommon acclamations. As ſoon as he appeared the whole aſſembly roſe up to do him honour: nobody regarded either the games or the combatants: Themiſtocles was the only ſpectacle worth their attention. Struck with ſuch flattering honours, he could not help obſerving, that he that day reaped the fruits of all his labours.

After

After the Grecians were returned from purſuing the Perſian fleet, Themiſtocles ſailed to all the iſlands that had eſpouſed their intereſts, in order to levy contributions. The firſt he applied to was that of Andros, from whoſe inhabitants he required a conſiderable ſum. *I come*, ſaid he, *to you, accompanied by two very powerful divinities, Perſuaſion and Neceſſity.*——*Alas!* replied they, *we alſo have divinities on our ſide, Poverty and Impoſſibility.* In conſequence of this reply, he blocked them up for ſome time; but, finding them too well fortified, he was obliged to retire. Some other iſlands, however, were neither furniſhed with ſo much reaſon, nor ſo much power. He exacted large ſums from all ſuch as were incapable of oppoſition; and theſe contributions he chiefly converted to his own private advantage: thus ſhewing in his own character two very oddly aſſorted qualities—avarice and a love of fame.

Mardonius, who remained in Greece with a body of three hundred thouſand men, paſſed the winter in Theſſaly; and, in the beginning of ſpring, led them down into the province of Bœotia. From thence he ſent Alexander, king of Macedonia, with a ſplendid retinue to Athens, to make propoſals for an accommodation, and to endeavour to make them ſeparate their intereſts from the general cauſe of Greece. He offered

to

to rebuild their city, to give them a conſiderable ſum of money, to ſuffer them to enjoy their laws and conſtitution, and to give them the government of all Greece. The Spartans, alarmed at this alluring offer, diſpatched a meſſenger to Athens, who was inſtructed to ſay, that they hoped the Athenians entertained juſter notions of true glory and patriotiſm; that they held the common danger, by which the various ſtates of Greece were bound to give mutual aid to each other, as of a more urgent nature; and, at leaſt, that they had a greater reverence for the memory of their illuſtrious anceſtors, than to ſacrifice thoſe whom they had ſo gallantly defended and delivered, by acceding to the infamous terms which had been propoſed. That the Athenians might not hold up neceſſity as a plea for their complying, the Spartans generouſly offered to maintain their wives and children at their own expence, and in their own city. Ariſtides was at that time in the higheſt office, being principal archon at Athens. It was in his preſence that the king of Macedon made his propoſals, and that the deputies from the other ſtates of Greece endeavoured to avert the force of them. But Ariſtides wanted no prompter but the natural dictates of his own heart to give them an anſwer. "To men," ſaid he, "bred up to pleaſure and ignorance, it is natural to proffer great rewards,

rewards, and to hope by bribes to buy off virtue. Barbarians, who make ſilver and gold the chief objects of their eſteem, may be excuſed for thinking to corrupt the fidelity of a people; but that the Lacedæmonians, who came to remonſtrate againſt theſe offers, ſhould ſuppoſe they could prevail, was indeed ſurpriſing. The Athenians have the common liberty of Greece intruſted to their care, and mountains of gold are not able to ſhake their fidelity. No; ſo long as that ſun, which the Perſians adore, continues to ſhine with wonted ſplendor, ſo long ſhall the Athenians be mortal enemies to the Perſians; ſo long ſhall they continue to purſue them for ravaging their lands, for burning their houſes, and polluting their temples: ſuch is the anſwer we return to the Perſian propoſal: and you," continued he, addreſſing himſelf to Alexander, "if you are truly their friend, refrain for the future from being the bearer of ſuch propoſals; your honour, and perhaps even your ſafety demands it."

The treaty being thus broke up, Mardonius prepared to act with vigour, and invaded Attica, which the Athenians were once more obliged to deſert, and leave to his fury. He entered Athens, ten months after it had been taken by Xerxes, the inhabitants having again conveyed themſelves to Salamis, and other neighbouring places. In that

that ſtate of exile and want they continued contented with all their ſufferings, ſince repaid by freedom. Even Lycidas, a ſenator, who attempted to propoſe a ſubmiſſion, was ſtoned to death, while his wife and children met with the ſame fate from the women; ſo ſtrong was the averſion which the Athenians had conceived againſt all communications with Perſia.

In the mean time the Spartans, whoſe duty it was to co-operate with the Athenians with equal ardour, unmindful of the general cauſe, only thought of making preparations for their own ſecurity, and reſolved to fortify the iſthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering into Peloponneſus. This the Athenians conſidered as a baſe and ungrateful defection: and ſent deputies to remonſtrate againſt the Spartan conduct. Theſe had orders to ſay, that if Sparta ſhould perſiſt in its partial method of ſeeking ſecurity, the Athenians would follow their example; and, inſtead of ſuffering all for Greece, would turn with their fleet to the Perſians, who being thus maſters of the ſea, could invade the territory of Sparta whenever they ſhould think proper. Theſe menaces had ſo good an effect, that five thouſand men were privately diſpatched, each attended with ſeven Helotes, and were actually upon their march before

fore the Spartans gave the Athenian deputies any anſwer.

Mardonius at this time had left Attica, and was on his return to the country of Bœotia, where he reſolved to wait the approach of the enemy, as he could there draw up his forces with greater eaſe than in the hilly parts of Attica, where a few might be oppoſed to numbers with greater ſucceſs. He encamped by the river Aſopus, along the banks of which his army extended, conſiſting of three hundred thouſand fighting men.

Great as this army was, the Greeks, with much inferior forces, reſolved to meet it in the field. Their forces were by this time aſſembled, and amounted to ſeventy thouſand men: of theſe, five thouſand were Spartans, attended by thirty-five thouſand Helotes. The Athenians amounted to eight thouſand, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. In the right wing of this army the Spartans were placed, commanded by Cleombrotus; in the left wing the Athenians, with Ariſtides at their head. In this order they followed Mardonius into Bœotia, determined on trying the fate of a battle, and encamped at no great diſtance from them, at the foot of Mount Cythæron. Here they continued for ſome time, awaiting in dreadful ſuſpenſe a battle that was to determine the fate of Greece. Some ſkirmiſhing between

between the Perſian cavalry and the wing of the Grecian army, in which the latter were ſucceſsful, ſeemed to give a preſage of future victory; which, however, for ten days, neither ſide ſeemed willing to ſtrike for.

While the two armies were thus oppoſed, waiting the moſt favourable opportunity of engaging, the Greeks, by their mutual diſſenſions, were on the point of loſing their freedom in ſatisfying their mutual jealouſy. The firſt diſpute that aroſe in the army was begun by the Tegeans, who contended with the Athenians upon the point of precedence. They willingly allowed the Spartans the command of the right wing, as they conſtantly had it; but they inſiſted on having the left, alledging, that they had earned it by former acts of valour, and well known ſucceſs. The diſpute ran high, a mutinous diſpoſition began to prevail in all parts of the army, and the enemy were likely to become victorious without a blow. In this general ſpirit of diſſention, Ariſtides only appeared unmoved. Long noted for his impartiality and juſtice, all parties fixed their eyes upon him, as the only perſon from whom they could expect a pacification. Wherefore, turning himſelf to the Spartans, and ſome of the reſt of the confederates, he addreſſed them in the following manner:—"It is not now a time, my friends, to diſpute of the me-

rit of paſt ſervices, for all boaſting is vain in the day of danger. Let it be the brave man's pride to own, that it is not the poſt or ſtation which gives courage, or which can take it away. I head the Athenians: whatever poſt you ſhall aſſign us we will maintain it, and will endeavour to make our ſtation, wherever we are placed, the poſt of true honour and military glory. We are come hither not to contend with our friends, but to fight with our enemies; not to boaſt of our anceſtors, but to imitate them. This battle will diſtinguiſh the merit of each city, each commander; and the loweſt centinel will ſhare the honour of the day." This ſpeech determined the council of war in favour of the Athenians, who, thereupon, were allowed to maintain their former ſtation.

A fatal conſpiracy in the midſt of the Athenians threatened conſequences ſtill more dangerous, becauſe they were unſeen. Some of the beſt and richeſt families, who had waſted their fortunes in the war, and loſt their credit in the city, entered into a conſpiracy to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Perſians. Ariſtides, however, ſtill watchful in the ſervice of the ſtate, was early informed of their machinations, and inſtantly laid their ſchemes before the general council. Notwithſtanding, he was contented with having eight of the conſpirators arreſted; and of theſe, two only

only were reſerved for trial. Yet his lenity, or, to call it by a truer name, his prudence, would not permit him to act rigorouſly even againſt theſe; as he knew that ſeverity in times of general danger would but depreſs the ardour of the army, he permitted them to eſcape, and thus ſacrificed public juſtice to public ſecurity.

Both armies had now continued for ten days in ſight of each other, in anxious expectation of an engagement, both willing to begin, yet both afraid to ſtrike; as the aggreſſor was to engage at a diſadvantage. But Mardonius being naturally of an impatient, fiery diſpoſition, grew very uneaſy at ſo long a delay. Beſides, he had only a few proviſions left for his army, and the Grecians grew every day ſtronger by the addition of freſh ſupplies. He, therefore, called a council of war, to deliberate whether he ſhould give battle. Artabazus, a perſon of ſingular merit and great experience, was of opinion that they ſhould not hazard a battle, but that they ſhould retire under the walls of Thebes; while the enemy formed of various troops, and ſubject to different leaders, would deſtroy each other by their various diſſenſions, or might be partly corrupted to give up the common cauſe. This opinion was the moſt reaſonable, but Mardonius, ſpurred on by his natural impetuoſity, and wearied with a protracted war, reſolved to en-

gage, nor had the reſt courage to contradict his reſolution. The reſult, therefore, was, that they ſhould give battle the next day.

This being reſolved on the ſide of Perſia, the Greeks were not leſs prepared for the engagement; for they had been ſecretly apprized the night before, by Alexander king of Macedon, of the reſult of the Perſian councils. Pauſanias, therefore, the commander in chief, gave orders to his army to prepare themſelves for battle; and drawing up his forces, placed the Athenians on the right, as being better acquainted with the Perſian manner of fighting, and fluſhed with former ſucceſs. Whether it was fear or prudence that ſuggeſted this change to the general, the Athenians took the poſt of honour with exultation; nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to bravery, and a ſteady reſolution to conquer or fall. But Mardonius hearing of this alteration in the diſpoſition of the Grecian army, made an alteration alſo in his own. This alſo once more produced a change in the diſpoſition of the Greeks; by this changing and rechanging the order of battle, nothing farther was done for that day.

At night the Greeks held a council of war, in which it was reſolved, that they ſhould decamp from their preſent ſituation, and march to another, more conveniently ſituated for water. As their removal

removal was performed in the night, much diſorder enſued; and in the morning, Mardonius perceiving them ſcattered over the plain, he ſuppoſed that they were flying, rather than retreating; he, therefore, reſolved to purſue with his whole army. The Greeks perceiving his deſign, ſoon collected their ſcattered forces, which the darkneſs had diſperſed; but not intimidated, and halting near the little city of Platæa, there determined to await the ſhock of their purſuers. The barbarian forces ſoon came up to the engagement with their accuſtomed howling, expecting rather to plunder than to fight. The Lacedæmonians, who cloſed up the rear of the Grecian army, were the firſt who ſupported the ſhock of the aſſailants. They were in ſome meaſure ſeparated from the reſt of the army by the obſtinacy of one of their own regiments, who conſidered their retreat as contrary to the idea of Spartan diſcipline; but ſtill conſiſting of a formidable body of men, they were in a capacity of making head againſt the invaders. Collecting themſelves, therefore, into a phalanx, they ſtood impenetrable and immoveable to all the aſſaults of the enemy.

In the mean time, the Athenian troops, who were apprized of the attack, quickly turned back, in order to aſſiſt their allies; but the Greeks who were in Perſia pay, to the number of five thou-

ſand, intercepted their return. Thus the battle was divided into two, and fought with great ardour in various parts of the field. But nothing could reſiſt the weight of the Spartan phalanx, who after ſome time, broke in upon the Perſian forces, and put them into diſorder. In this tumult, Mardonius attempting to reſtore the order of battle, and ruſhing into the midſt of the carnage, was killed by Aimneſtus, a Spartan; and ſoon after all his army betook themſelves to flight. The other Greek troops ſoon followed the brave example ſet them by Sparta, and the rout became general. Artabazus, who commanded a body of forty thouſand Perſians, fled with them towards the Helleſpont, while the reſt fortified themſelves in their camp with wooden ramparts. There they were attacked by the Spartans, who were not well ſkilled in that part of war; but the Athenians ſoon came up to their aſſiſtance; and eaſily effected a breach in this haſty rampart. It was then that the ſlaugher of the enemy was indiſcriminate and terrible. Of all the Perſian army that had taken refuge there, not four thouſand men eſcaped. Above an hundred thouſand men were put to the ſword; and the conquerors, willing to rid their country at once of their terrible invaders, refuſed to give quarter. Thus ended the Perſian invaſions

of

of Greece, nor ever after was the Perſian army ſeen to croſs the Helleſpont.

The carnage being at laſt over, the Greeks buried their dead, which at moſt did not amount to ten thouſand men; and ſoon after, as a teſtimony of their gratitude to heaven, they cauſed a ſtatue of Jupiter to be made at the general expence, which they placed in his temple at Olympia. It was now that the firſt funeral games and funeral orations were invented. They were meant to ſerve not only as monuments of honour to the dead, but as incitements to glory to the living. The names of the ſeveral nations of Greece that were preſent in the engagement, were engraven on the right ſide of the pedeſtal of the ſtatue that was dedicated to Jupiter; the Spartans firſt, the Athenians next, and all the reſt in order.

While ſucceſs attended the Grecian arms by land, they were not leſs fortunate at ſea. The greateſt part of the Perſian fleet, after the defeat at Salamis, wintered at Cumæ, and in the ſpring moved to Samos, both to guard and awe the coaſts of Aſia. The Grecians, in the mean while, were refitting their ſhips at Ægina, and being importuned by the Samians, they put to ſea under the conduct of Leotichydes, the Spartan, and Xanthippus, the Athenian. The Perſians, apprized of their approach, and having long experienced

their own inferiority, would not venture to oppoſe them at ſea, but drew up their ſhips upon land at Mycale, a promontory of Ionia, where they fortified them with a wall and a deep trench, while they were alſo protected by an army of ſixty thouſand foot, under the command of Tigranes. This, however, did not deter the Greeks from venturing to attack them. Leotichydes having endeavoured to make the Ionians revolt, landed his forces, and the next day prepared for the aſſault. He drew up his army in two bodies; the one, conſiſting chiefly of Athenians and Corinthians, kept the plain, whilſt the other of Lacedæmonians, marched over the hills and precipices, to gain the higheſt ground. The battle being joined, great courage and reſolution was ſhewn on both ſides, and the fortune of the day continued for a long time in ſuſpenſe. The defection of the Greek auxiliaries in the Perſian army, turned the fate of the battle; the Perſians were ſoon routed, and purſued with great ſlaughter to their very tents. The Athenians had made themſelves maſters of the field before the Lacedæmonians could come up to their aſſiſtance, ſo that all the ſhare theſe had in the action, was to diſperſe ſome Perſian troops which were attempting to make a regular retreat, ſoon after their ramparts were forced, and all their veſſels burnt: ſo that

nothing

nothing could be more complete than the victory at Mycale. Tigranes, the Perſian general, and forty thouſand men of his army, lay dead on the field of battle; the fleet was deſtroyed; and of the great army brought into Europe by Xerxes, ſcarce one man remained to carry back the tidings.

The battle of Platæa was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the evening of the ſame day. But what is very extraordinary, it is univerſally affirmed, that the victory of Platæa was known at Mycale before the battle begun, though it is a paſſage of ſeveral days from one place to the other. It is moſt probable, that Leotichydes framed the report to encourage his army, and incite them to emulate their aſſociates in the cauſe of freedom.

During theſe misfortunes, Xerxes, who had been the cauſe of all, lay at Sardis, expecting the event of his expedition. But meſſengers coming every hour, loaded with the news of ſome fatal diſaſter; and finding himſelf unable to retrieve his affairs, he retired farther into the country, and endeavoured to drown in luxury and riot the uneaſy reflections of his ſucceſsleſs ambition. To the want of ſucceſs abroad, was added the contempt of his ſubjects at home; and this brought on a train of treaſons, inſurrections, ſacrilege,

murder, inceſt, and cruelty: ſo that the latter part of his reign, was as ſcandalous as the firſt part of it had been unfortunate.

The Grecian fleet after the battle of Mycale, ſet ſail towards the Helleſpont, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the bridges which Xerxes had built over that ſtrait; but finding them already deſtroyed by the tempeſtuous weather, they returned home. From this time, all the cities of Ionia revolted from the Perſians, and having entered into the general confederacy, moſt of them preſerved their liberty during the time that empire ſubſiſted.

The treaſures which the Perſians had brought into Greece were very great, and, in conſequence of their defeat, became a prey to the conquerors. From this period, the Greeks began to loſe their ſpirit of hardy and laborious virtue, and to adopt the refined indolence and captious petulance, and the boundleſs love of pleaſure, which extreme wealth is ever known to produce. The former equality of the people now began to be broken, and while one part of the inhabitants rioted in opulence and luxury, another was ſeen pining in want and deſpair. It was in vain that philoſophy reared its head to ſtop theſe calamities; its voice reaches but to a few; the great and the little vulgar are equally deaf to its dictates. From this

time

time we are to view a different picture: and, inſtead of a brave and refined people confederating againſt tyranny, we are to behold an enervated and factious populace, a corrupt adminiſtration, and wealth alone making diſtinction.

CHAP. VIII.

From the Victory at Mycale, to the Beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

NO ſooner were the Greeks freed from the apprehenſions of a foreign invaſion, than they began to entertain jealouſies of each other. Indeed theſe petty animoſities had all along ſubſiſted among them, but they were kept under by the ſenſe of general danger. As this collection of republics was compoſed of ſtates intirely diſſimilar in manners, intereſts, and inclinations, it was no way ſurpriſing to find its parts ever at variance with each other. The firſt marks of jealouſy upon the deſtruction of the Perſian army, exhibited themſelves between the Athenians and Spartans. The one a refined ambitious ſtate, unwilling to admit a ſuperior in the general confederacy; the other an hardy unpoliſhed race, which could never think of admitting A.M. 3526.

ting a feebler ſtate as an equal. The Athenians, with their families, being returned to their own country, began to think of rebuilding the city, which had been almoſt deſtroyed during the Perſian war. As every new foundation aims at improving the old, they laid a plan of ſtrengthening and extending their walls, and giving their city at once more magnificence and ſecurity. This was but natural; however the Lacedæmonians conceived a jealouſy at this undertaking, and began to think that Athens, from being miſtreſs of the ſeas, would ſoon attempt uſurping all authority upon land. They, therefore, ſent an embaſſy to the Athenians, to diſſuade them from this undertaking; giving as an oſtenſible reaſon, the danger ſuch fortifications would be of to the general confederacy, if they ſhould ever fall into the hands of the Perſians. This meſſage at firſt appeared reaſonable, and the Athenians put an immediate ſtop to their undertaking; but Themiſtocles, who ſince the battle of Salamis continued to guide in the aſſemblies of Athens, eaſily ſaw through the pretext, and adviſed the council to meet their diſſimulation with ſimilar addreſs. He, therefore, anſwered the Spartan ambaſſadors, that the Athenians would ſoon ſend an embaſſy to Lacedæmon, in which they would fully ſatisfy all their ſcruples. Having thus gained time, he procured

cured himſelf to be elected for that important negociation, and took care to draw out the treaty by ſtudied delays. He had previouſly deſired that his colleagues ſhould follow one after another, and ſtill he alledged, at Lacedæmon, that he only waited for their arrival to determine the affair at a ſingle audience. During all this time the work was carried on at Athens with the utmoſt vigour and induſtry; the women and children, ſtrangers and ſlaves, were all employed in it, nor was it interrupted for a ſingle day. It was in vain that the Spartans complained of this procedure; it was in vain that they urged Themiſtocles to haſten his buſineſs; he ſtedfaſtly denied the firſt, and entreated them not to give any credit to looſe and idle reports. He deſired they would ſend again, and enquire into the truth of the matter; and, at the ſame time, adviſed the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys until he and his colleagues ſhould return. At laſt, finding all his pretences for delay exhauſted, he boldly demanded an audience, and knowing that the work was finiſhed, he no longer kept on the maſk. He then informed the Spartans, in full council, that Athens was now in a condition to keep out an enemy, whether foreign or domeſtic; that what his countrymen had done was conformable both to the

law

law of nations, and the common intereſts of Greece. Every city had a right to conſult for its own ſafety, without ſubmitting to the advice or controul of its neighbours; that what had been done was entirely in conſequence of his advice; and, in ſhort, that whatever injury they offered him, they muſt expect it would be returned upon their own ambaſſadors, who were ſtill detained at Athens. Theſe declarations extremely diſpleaſed the Lacedæmonians; but, either ſenſible of their truth, or unwilling to come to an open rupture, they diſſembled their reſentment; and the ambaſſadors on both ſides, having all ſuitable honours paid them, returned to their reſpective cities. Themiſtocles was received with as much joy by his fellow citizens as if he had returned from triumph; and he was of a diſpoſition to feel thoſe honours with the higheſt delight.

Having thus taken proper precautions for ſecuring the city, his next care was to ſtrengthen the port, and form an harbour at once ſpacious and ſecure. He likewiſe obtained a decree, that every year they ſhould build twenty veſſels, to continue and augment their force by ſea; and, in order to engage the greater number of workmen and ſailors to reſort to Athens, he cauſed particular privileges and immunities to be granted to them. His deſign was to render Athens a maritime city; in which

which he followed a very different ſyſtem of politics from their former governors, who bent all their efforts to alienate the minds of the people from commerce and naval affairs.

But as ſucceſs in one part is apt to lead on to deſigns ſtill more extenſive, Themiſtocles was willing to outſtep the bounds of juſtice in the proſecution of his darling objects. He even formed a plan of ſupplanting Sparta, and making Athens the unrivalled miſtreſs of Greece. On a certain day, therefore, he declared in a full aſſembly of the people, that he had a very important deſign to propoſe, but which could not be communicated to the public, as the execution required ſecrecy and diſpatch. He therefore deſired they would appoint a perſon to whom he might explain himſelf, one whoſe judgment might direct, and whoſe authority might confirm him in his deſign. It was not eaſy to miſs the wiſeſt and the beſt man of the ſtate, and Ariſtides was unanimouſly choſen by the whole aſſemby, as the propereſt perſon to weigh the juſtice as well as the utility of the propoſal. Themiſtocles, therefore, taking him aſide, told him, that the deſign he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the reſt of the Grecian ſtates, which then lay in a neighbouring port, and thus procure Athens an undiſputed ſovereignty of the ſea. Ariſtides, inwardly diſpleaſed at the pro-

poſal, made no anſwer, but returning to the aſſembly, informed them, that nothing could be more advantageous to Athens than what Themiſtocles propoſed, but that nothing could be more unjuſt. The people, ſtill poſſeſſed of a ſhare of remaining virtue, unanimouſly declined the propoſal without knowing its contents, and conferred the ſurname of *Juſt* upon Ariſtides; a title ſtill the more flattering, as he had ſo well deſerved it.

Thus Athens, being reſtored to peace and ſecurity, once more began to apply to thoſe arts that adorn life and ſecure freedom. The people began to aſſume a greater ſhare in the government of the ſtate than they had hitherto aſpired at, and ſteps were every day taken to render the conſtitution entirely popular. Ariſtides perceived this, and juſtly dreaded the conſequences of a democratic government; he therefore procured a decree, that the archons, who were the chief magiſtrates of the ſtate, ſhould be choſen indiſcriminately from all ranks of Athenians without diſtinction. Thus, by indulging the citizens in a part of their wiſhes, he ſecured a legal ſubordination among the whole.

In the mean time, the Grecians, encouraged by their former victories, reſolved to ſend a fleet to deliver their confederates, who ſtill groaned beneath the Perſian yoke. Pauſanias commanded the

the Spartan fleet, while Ariſtides, and Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, were appointed to conduct the fleets of Athens. This was the firſt time the latter, who was yet very young, was placed in a ſphere for the exhibition of his virtues. He had formerly ſuffered himſelf to be impriſoned till he could pay his father's fine; and his piety upon that occaſion gave the moſt favourable preſage of his future greatneſs. When ſet at liberty, his ſervices in war ſoon became conſpicuous, and it was ſeen that he acted with the courage of his father, the judgment of Themiſtocles, and with more ſincerity than either. The ingenuous openneſs of his temper being eaſily ſeen, he was oppoſed in the ſtate as a counterpoiſe to the craft and ſubtlety of Themiſtocles, and thus advanced to the higheſt employments both at home and abroad. Under theſe commanders the allied fleet firſt directed their courſe to the iſle of Cyprus, where they reſtored all the cities to their liberty; then ſteering towards the Helleſpont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themſelves maſters, and took a vaſt number of priſoners, many of whom were of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable families of Perſia.

The ſucceſs of this expedition was not more flattering to the Greeks, than in the end prejudicial to them. A deluge of wealth pouring in, corrupted

rupted the ſimplicity, and tainted the manners of every rank of people. The Athenians, already ſkilled in the arts of politeneſs and effeminacy, concealed their change for a time, but it ſoon broke out among the Spartans; and Pauſanias himſelf, their commander, was the firſt who was infected with the contagion. Being naturally of an haughty and imperious temper, and ſtill more impreſſed with the gloomy auſterity of Sparta, he ſet no bounds to his ambition; he treated his officers, and even the confederate generals, with ſeverity, arrogance, and diſdain, and ſo much alienated the minds of the ſoldiers, that he was forſaken by all the confederates, who put themſelves under the command and protection of Ariſtides and Cimon. This haughty and impolitic conduct was the means of transferring the ſovereignty of the ſea from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians; it gave a bias to the ſcale of the Athenian power, which no ſubſequent effort of the Spartans could poſſibly counteract. Ariſtides and Cimon had ever preſerved an evenneſs of conduct; affable, courteous, and obliging, they tempered their authority with mildneſs, and won by their gentle manners ſuch as they could not engage by their benefits. An oppoſition ſo mortifying could not but be diſpleaſing to Pauſanias; it was in vain that he attempted to keep up his authority

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by pride and oſtentation; his importance ſunk with his unpopularity; and he became contemptible, even to thoſe that ſtill acknowledged his command.

Perhaps it was from theſe motives that he reſolved to ſacrifice his country to his ambition, and give up to the Perſians a ſtate where he could no longer expect to dictate. Be this as it will, he made overtures for gaining the favour of Xerxes; and, in order to ingratiate himſelf at the court of that monarch, he ſuffered ſome of his more exalted priſoners to make their eſcape by night. Theſe priſoners were commiſſioned with letters to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver up Sparta and all Greece, on condition that he would give him his daughter in marriage. Xerxes readily hearkened to the propoſal, and referred him to Artabazus, his governor, to concert meaſures with him for putting it in execution. He alſo furniſhed him with a large ſum of money, to be diſtributed among ſuch of the Grecian ſtates as would join in the conſpiracy.

How long this treaty continued ſecret, we are not told, but it was diſcovered at Sparta before it could be put in execution, and Pauſanias was ordered home to take his trial for the offence. The proofs, however, againſt him were not ſufficient for conviction, as the Ephori had made it a

rule never to convict a man but upon the plaineſt evidence. But his command was taken from him, and he retired, ſtill meditating revenge and the deſtruction of his country. It was not long, however, before he received a ſecond ſummons to appear before the Ephori for freſh crimes, and a number of his own ſlaves were found to depoſe againſt him. Still, however, he had the fortune to come off; the mildneſs of the Spartan laws, and the authority of his regal office, which he ſtill poſſeſſed, conſpiring to protect him.

Pauſanias, having in this manner twice eſcaped the juſtice of his country, would not, however, abandon his baſe projects, or ſacrifice his reſentment to his ſafety. Immediately upon his being acquitted, he returned to the ſea coaſts, without any authority from the ſtate, and ſtill continued to carry on his correſpondence with Artabazus. He now acted with ſuch little reſerve, that his conduct was known to the Ephori, and they only wanted information to convict him. While they were thus perplexed for want of evidence, a certain ſlave, who was called the Argilian, cleared their doubts, and came with proofs which could not be reſiſted. This man had been employed by Pauſanias to carry a letter to Artabazus, and he accordingly prepared himſelf for the expedition; but reflecting, that many of his fellow ſlaves had been

been ſent on ſimilar meſſages, and ſeeing none of them return, he was induced to open the pacquet of which he was the bearer, and there he diſcovered the myſtery, and his own danger. It ſeems, that Pauſanias and the Perſian governor had agreed to put to death all the meſſengers they mutually ſent to each other as ſoon as their letters were delivered, that there might be no poſſibility left of tracing out, or diſcovering the correſpondence. This letter he delivered to the Ephori, who were now convinced that Pauſanias was guilty; but, for a more thorough confirmation, they were willing to have it from himſelf. For this purpoſe, they contrived that the ſlave ſhould take ſanctuary in the temple of Neptune as for ſafety and protection, and under a pretence of ſupplicating the deity for the infidelity he had committed. The inſtant Pauſanias was informed of his ſlave's behaviour, he haſtened to the temple to enquire the reaſon; where the ſlave informed him, that having opened his letter, he found the contents fatal to himſelf, and therefore took this method of averting the danger. Pauſanias, inſtead of denying the fact, endeavoured rather to pacify the ſlave, and promiſed him a large reward to bribe his future ſecrecy. But during this interview, the Ephori had privately poſted perſons to overhear the converſation, and they ſoon divulged his guilt. The

moment, therefore, he was returned to the city, the Ephori reſolved to ſeize him, and from the aſpect of one of theſe magiſtrates he plainly perceived his danger: he, therefore, flew to take ſanctuary in the temple of Minerva, and got thither before his purſuers could overtake him. As the religion of the ſtate would not permit his being taken forcibly from thence, the people ſtopped up the entrance with great ſtones, and tearing off the roof, left him expoſed to the inclemency of the weather. After a ſhort ſtay he was ſtarved to death: and in this miſerable manner died the general, who had led on the victorious troops to the field of Platæa.

The fate of Pauſanias ſoon after involved that of Themiſtocles, who had ſome time before been baniſhed, and lived in great eſteem at Argos. A paſſionate thirſt of glory, and a ſtrong deſire to command arbitrarily over the citizens, had made him very odious at Athens. He had built near his houſe a temple in honour of Diana, under this title, To Diana, the Goddeſs of Good Counſel; as hinting his own counſels upon ſeveral important occaſions, and thus tacitly reproaching his fellow citizens of having forgot them. This, though a ſmall offence, was ſufficient to expel him from ſo fluctuating and jealous a ſtate as that of Athens; but he was now accuſed of having participated

cipated in, and having been privy to the deſigns of Pauſanias. In fact, Pauſanias had communicated to him all his deſigns, but Themiſtocles had rejected his propoſals with the utmoſt indignation. But then he concealed his enterprizes, either thinking it baſe to betray the ſecrets truſted to his confidence, or imagining it impoſſible for ſuch dangerous and ill concerted ſchemes to take effect. Be this as it will, upon the downfal of Pauſanias, it appeared that a correſpondence had been carried on between them, and the Lacedæmonians declared themſelves his accuſers before the aſſembly of the people of Athens. Such of the citizens as had long either envied, or feared Themiſtocles, now joined in the general accuſation, and urged his death with great acrimony. Ariſtides alone, who had long been his open oppoſer, refuſed to join in this baſe confederacy againſt him, and rejected ſo mean an opportunity of revenge, being as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adverſary, as he had before been to envy his ſucceſſes. It was in vain that Themiſtocles anſwered by letters to the calumnies laid againſt him; it was in vain that he alledged, that a mind like his, diſdaining ſlavery at home, could think of wiſhing for it in exile; the people, too ſtrongly wrought upon by his accuſers, ſent perſons to ſeize and bring him before the council

of Greece. Fortunately, however, he had timely notice of their deſign, and went to take refuge in the iſland of Corcyra; to the inhabitants of which he had formerly done ſignal ſervices. From thence he fled to Epirus, and finding himſelf ſtill purſued by the Athenians, grown at length deſperate, he fled to Admetus, king of the Moloſſians, for refuge. There he firſt practiſed all the abject arts of a man obliged to ſue to a tyrant for ſuccour. He had, upon a former occaſion, been inſtrumental in preventing the Athenians from granting aid to this monarch, and this was now ſeverely remembered againſt him. Admetus was from home at the time Themiſtocles came to implore protection; and, upon his return, he was ſurpriſed to find his old adverſary, who had come to put himſelf under his protection. As ſoon as the king appeared, Themiſtocles took that monarch's young ſon in his arms, and, ſeating himſelf amidſt the houſhold gods, informed him of the cauſe of his arrival, and implored his clemency and protection. Admetus, ſurprized, and moved with compaſſion at ſeeing the greateſt man of Greece an humble ſuppliant at his feet, raiſed him immediately from the ground, and promiſed him protection. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he refuſed abſolutely to deliver up a perſon who had made his palace an

aſylum,

aſylum, in the firm perſuaſion that it would afford him ſafety and protection. Thus continuing to ſpend the cloſe of life in indolence and retirement, having learned to pardon and deſpiſe the ingratitude of his country, he expected at leaſt their forgiveneſs. But the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not ſuffer him to live in peace, and ſtill inſiſted on having him delivered up. In this exigence, as the king found himſelf unable to protect his illuſtrious gueſt, he reſolved to promote his eſcape. He was, therefore, put on board a merchant ſhip, which was ſailing to Ionia, and his quality concealed with the utmoſt precaution. A ſtorm having carried the ſhip near the iſland of Naxos, then beſieged by the Athenians, the imminent danger he was in of falling into their hands, compelled him to diſcover himſelf to the pilot, and prevailed upon him to ſteer for Aſia; where, arriving at Cumæ, a city of Æolia, in Aſia Minor, he was from thence ſent under a ſtrong guard, and in one of thoſe covered chariots in which the Perſians were accuſtomed to convey their wives, to the court of Sardis.

When the unfortunate exile was arrived at the palace of the voluptuous monarch of the country, he waited on the captain of the guard, requeſting, as a Grecian ſtranger, to have permiſſion to ſpeak with the king. The officer informed him of a

ceremony, which he knew was insupportable to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed that honour: this was to fall prostrate before the Persian monarch, and to worship him as the living image of the gods on earth. Themistocles, who was never scrupulous of the means of obtaining what he sought, promised to comply, and falling on his face before the king in the Persian manner, declared his name, his country, and misfortunes. "I have done," cried he, "my ungrateful country services more than once, and I am now come to offer those services to you. My life is in your hands: you may now exert your clemency, or display your vengeance: by the former you will preserve a faithful suppliant; by the latter you will destroy the greatest enemy to Greece." The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his eloquence and intrepidity, but he soon gave a loose to his joy for the event. He told his courtiers, that he considered the arrival of Themistocles as a very happy incident, and wished that his enemies would for ever pursue the same destructive methods of banishing from among them the good and wise. His joys were even continued in a dream. At night he was seen to start from his sleep, and three times to cry out, "I have got Themistocles, the Athenian." He even gave him three cities for his support,

ſupport, and had him maintained in the utmoſt affluence and ſplendor. It is ſaid, that ſuch was his favour at the Perſian court, and ſo great was the conſideration in which he was held by all ranks of mankind, that one day at table he was heard to cry out to his wife and children that were placed there, "Children, we ſhould have been certainly ruined, if we had not been formerly undone."

In this manner he lived in affluence and contented ſlavery, until the king began to think of employing his talents in ſending him at the head of an army againſt Athens. Although Themiſtocles profeſſed himſelf an open enemy to that ſtate, yet he ſtill harboured a latent affection for it, which no reſentment could remove. The conſciouſneſs that he ſhould be inſtrumental in overturning a city which had been made to flouriſh by his counſels, gave him inexpreſſible pain. He found himſelf at laſt unable to ſuſtain the conflict between his gratitude to the king and his love to his country; and, therefore, reſolved upon dying, as the only means of eſcaping from his perplexity. He, therefore, prepared a ſolemn ſacrifice, to which he invited all his friends, when, after embracing them all, and taking a laſt farewel, he ſwallowed poiſon, which ſoon put an end to his life. He died at Magneſia, aged threeſcore and five years, the greateſt part of which he had ſpent

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in the intrigues and buſtles of active employment. Themiſtocles ſeemed to unite in himſelf all the prominent features of the Greek character; ſagacious, eloquent, and brave, yet unprincipled, artful, and mercenary, with too many virtues ever to be mentioned as a deſpicable character, and too many defects ever to be conſidered as a good one.

In the mean time, while Themiſtocles was thus become the ſport of fortune, the juſt Ariſtides attempted a nobler path to glory. It has already been obſerved, that the command of Greece had paſſed from Sparta to the Athenians; and it was agreed among the body of the ſtates, that their common treaſure for carrying on the expences of the war, ſhould be lodged in the iſland of Delos, under the cuſtody of a man of a clear head and an uncorrupt heart. The great queſtion, therefore, was, where to find a man to be truſted with ſo important a charge, and ſtedfaſtly known to prefer the public intereſt to his own. In this general diſquiſition, all parties at laſt caſt their eyes on Ariſtides, of whom Themiſtocles uſed jeſtingly to ſay, that he had no other merit than that of a ſtrong box, in keeping ſafely what was committed to his charge.

The conduct of Ariſtides in his diſcharge of this duty, only ſerved to confirm the great opinion mankind had formed of his integrity. He preſided

ſided over the treaſury with the care of a father over his family, and the caution of a miſer over what he holds dearer than life. No man complained of his adminiſtration, and no part of the public money was exhauſted in vain. He who thus contributed to make government rich, was himſelf very poor; and ſo far was he from being aſhamed of poverty, that he conſidered it as glorious to him as all the victories he had won. It happened upon a certain occaſion, that Callias, an intimate friend and relation of Ariſtides, was ſummoned before the judges for ſome offence; and one of the chief objections alledged againſt him was, that while he rolled in affluence and luxury, he ſuffered his friend and relation Ariſtides to remain in poverty and want. Upon this occaſion, Ariſtides was called upon, when it appeared that Callias had often offered to ſhare his fortune with him, but that he declined the benefit; aſſerting, that he only might be ſaid to want, who permitted his appetites to tranſgreſs the bounds of his income; and that he who could diſpenſe with a few things, thus rendered himſelf more like the gods, that want for nothing.

In this manner he lived, juſt in his public, and independent in his private capacity. His houſe was a public ſchool for virtue, and was open to all young Athenians who ſought wiſdom, or were ambitious

ambitious of power. He gave them the kindeſt reception, heard them with patience, inſtructed them with familiarity, and endeavoured above all things to give them a juſt value for themſelves. Among the reſt of his diſciples Cimon, who afterwards made ſuch a diſtinguiſhed figure in the ſtate, was one of the foremoſt.

Hiſtory does not mention the exact time or place of his death; but it pays the moſt glorious teſtimony to his diſintereſted character, in telling us, that he who had the abſolute diſpoſal of all the public treaſures died poor. It is even aſſerted, that he did not leave money enough behind him to pay the expences of his funeral, but that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were married and his ſon ſubſiſted at the expence of the public; and ſome of his grandchildren were ſupported by a penſion, equal to that which ſuch received as had been victorious at the Olympic games. But the greateſt honour which his countrymen paid to his memory, was in giving him the title of Juſt, a character far ſuperior to all the empty titles of wiſdom or conqueſt; ſince fortune or accident may confer wiſdom or valour, but the virtues of morality are ſolely of our own making.

Athens being in this manner deprived of the counſels and integrity of her two greateſt magiſtrates,

ſtrates, room was now made for younger ambition to ſtep forward, and Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, promiſed to act his part with dignity and honour. Cimon had ſpent his youth in exceſſes, from the bad effect of which it was thought no effort could extricate him. When he firſt offered to gain public favour, he was ſo ill received by the people, prejudiced againſt him for his former follies, that he ſuffered the moſt cruel neglect. But, though he was poſſeſſed of courage and abilities, he began to lay aſide all thoughts of public reſpect, being contented with humbler ſatisfactions. But Ariſtides perceiving that his diſſolute turn of mind was united with many great qualifications, he inſpired him with freſh hopes, and perſuaded him once more to renew the onſet. He now, therefore, entirely changed his conduct, and laying aſide his juvenile follies, aimed at nothing but what was great and noble. Thus he became not inferior to Miltiades in courage, or to Themiſtocles in prudence, and was not far ſurpaſſed by Ariſtides in integrity.

The firſt expedition of any note to the command of which Cimon was appointed, was of the fleet deſtined to ſcour the Aſiatic ſeas. When he was arrived at Caria, all the Grecian cities upon the ſea-coaſt immediately came over to him; and the reſt, which were garriſoned by the Perſians,

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were taken by ſtorm. Thus, by his conduct as well as by his intelligence, the whole country from Ionia to Pamphylia declared againſt the power of Perſia, and joined in the aſſociation with Greece.

The capture of the city of Eion is too remarkable to be paſt over in ſilence. Boges was governor, who held it for his maſter, the king of Perſia, with a firm reſolution to ſave it, or periſh in its fall. It was in his power to have capitulated with the beſiegers, and Cimon had often offered him very advantageous terms; but preferring his honour to his ſafety, he declined all treaty, and defended his ſtation with incredible fury, till he found it no longer poſſible to continue his defence. Being at laſt in the utmoſt want of proviſions, he threw all his treaſures from the walls into the river Strymon, after which, killing his wife and children, he laid them upon a pile which he had erected for that purpoſe, and then ſetting fire to the whole, ruſhed and expired in the midſt of the flames.

From thence Cimon repaired to Scyrus, an iſland inhabited by a ſet of piratical Pelaſgi and Dolopians. Having attacked and diſperſed theſe banditti, he planted ſome Athenian colonies along the ſhores of the Ægean ſea; the trade of which was now laid open to the Greeks. He next carried the arms of Greece into Eubœa; where he procured

procured the alliance of the Caryſtians, on terms of his own propoſing. He now reduced Naxos to obedience; but, having found the inhabitants very obſtinate and refractory, he judged it proper to deprive them of their freedom. This is the firſt inſtance in which any dependent city was enſlaved, without the concurrence of the confederacy. But ſuch ſtretches of power ſoon became common to all the leading ſtates in Greece. The Athenians had impoſed taxes on many of the colonies, and of the cities and iſlands that had been conquered. Theſe taxes the people ſubmitted to with much reluctance; and, whenever they ſaw a promiſing opportunity, they were ſure to revolt. Hence was afforded a plea, for the firſt Grecian general that might overcome ſuch a people, to rob them of their liberty.

Cimon thus proceeding from one conqueſt to another, was at laſt informed, that the whole Perſian fleet was anchored at the mouth of the river Eurymidon, where they expected a reinforcement of ſhips from Phœnicia, and, therefore, deferred an engagement till then. The Athenian general, however, reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent this junction, and ranged his gallies in ſuch a poſture as to prevent it, and yet compel the enemy to an engagement. It was in vain that the Perſian fleet retired farther up the mouth of the river, the

Athenians ſtill purſued them up the ſtream, until they were obliged to prepare for battle. The Perſians having the ſuperiority of an hundred ſail, maintained the conflict for ſome time with great intrepidity; but being at laſt forced on ſhore, they who came firſt threw themſelves upon land, leaving their empty veſſels to the enemy. Thus, beſides what were ſunk, the Athenians took above two hundred ſhips; and following their blow upon land, the Greek ſoldiers jumping from their ſhips, and ſetting up a ſhout, ran furiouſly upon the enemy, who ſuſtained the firſt ſhock with great reſolution. But, at length, the Grecian valour ſurmounted the enemy's deſperation; a total rout of the Perſians enſued, numbers were made priſoners, and a great quantity of plunder ſeized, which was found in their tents. Thus the Greeks obtained a double victory by ſea and land upon the ſame occaſion.

Cimon having returned ſucceſsful from this expedition, reſolved to expend thoſe treaſures which he had taken in war, in beautifying and adorning his native city. A taſte for architecture had for ſome time been gaining ground in Greece, and the Athenians gave the world examples in this art, that ſurpaſs all others to this very day. Victories ſo very humiliating to the pride of Perſia, induced that empire at laſt to think of peace; and after

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ſome time a treaty was concluded, in which the terms were very honourable on the ſide of Greece. It was ſtipulated, that the Grecian cities in Aſia ſhould be left in quiet enjoyment of their liberty, and that both the land and ſea forces of the Perſians, ſhould be kept at ſuch a diſtance from the Grecian ſeas, as not to create the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion. Thus entirely ended the Perſian war, which had kept the Grecian ſtates united, and called all their abilities into exertion; from that time forward, thoſe enmities which were diſſipated upon the common foe, began to be turned upon each other: the Greeks loſt all warlike ſpirit in petty jealouſies, and entirely ſoftening by the refinements and luxuries of peace, prepared themſelves for ſubmiſſion to the firſt invader of their freedom.

About this time the ſtudy of philoſophy was carried from Ionia to Athens, by Athenagoras the Clazomenian. Poetry was, at the ſame time, cultivated by Simonides of the iſland of Ceos, who ſung the exploits of his country in a ſtyle becoming their valour. His writings, however, have not had merit enough to preſerve them from oblivion; and it may be aſſerted, that mankind never ſuffer any work to be loſt which tends to make them more wiſe or happy.

CHAP. IX.

From the Peace with Persia, to the Peace of Nicias.

THE ſtate of Athens being thus in a great meaſure freed from its fears of a foreign enemy, began to cheriſh inteſtine animoſities, and its citizens laboured with every art to ſupplant each other in aiming at places of truſt and authority. Beſides Cimon, who, by general conſent, had been appointed to conduct the fleet and army, others endeavoured to take the lead at home, and to govern with leſs hazard the operations of the ſtate. The foremoſt in this attempt was Pericles, who was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. Pericles was deſcended from the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious families of Athens: his father, Xanthippus, defeated the Perſians at Mycale, and his mother, Agariſta, was niece to Caliſthenes, who expelled the tyrants, and eſtabliſhed a popular government in Athens. He had early thoughts of riſing in the ſtate, and took leſſons from Anaxagoras, in the philoſophy of nature. He ſtudied politics with great aſſiduity, but particularly devoted himſelf to eloquence, which,

which, in a popular ſtate, he conſidered as the fountain of all promotion. His ſtudies were crowned with ſucceſs; the poets, his contemporaries, affirm that his eloquence was ſo powerful, that, like thunder, he ſhook and aſtoniſhed all Greece. He had the art of uniting force and beauty; there was no reſiſting the ſtrength of his arguments, or the ſweetneſs of his delivery. Thucydides, his great opponent, was often heard to ſay, that though he had often overthrown him, the power of his perſuaſion was ſuch, that the audience could never perceive him fallen.

To this eloquence he added alſo a thorough inſight into human nature, as well as a perfect acquaintance with the diſpoſition of his auditors. It was a conſtant ſaying with him to himſelf, Remember, Pericles, thou art going to ſpeak to men born in the arms of liberty, and do thou take care to flatter them in their ruling paſſion. He reſembled the tyrant Piſiſtratus, not only in the ſweetneſs of his voice, but the features of his face, and his whole air and manner. To theſe natural and acquired graces, he added thoſe of fortune; he was very rich, and had an extenſive alliance with all the moſt powerful families of the ſtate.

The death of Ariſtides, the baniſhment of Themiſtocles, and the abſence of Cimon, gave opportunities to his growing ambition. Yet he at firſt

concealed his deſigns with the moſt cautious reſerve, till finding the people growing more and more in his intereſt, he ſet himſelf at their head, and oppoſed the principal men of the ſtate with great appearance of diſintereſted virtue. The chief obſtacle to his riſe was Cimon, whoſe candour and liberality had gained him a numerous party of all ranks and denominations. In oppoſition to him, Pericles called in popular aſſiſtance, and by expending the public money in bribes, largeſſes, and other diſtributions, he eaſily gained the multitude to eſpouſe his intereſts.

Thus having laid a ſecure foundation in popularity, he next ſtruck at the council of the Areopagus, compoſed of the moſt reſpectable perſons of all Athens; and, by the aſſiſtance of one Ephialtes, another popular champion, he drew away moſt cauſes from the cognizance of that court, and brought the whole order into contempt. In this manner, while Cimon was permitted to conduct the war abroad, he managed all the ſupplies at home; and, as it was his intereſt to keep Cimon at a diſtance, he took care to provide him with a ſufficiency of foreign employment.

In this ſtate of parties at Athens, an inſurrection of the Helotæ, or Lacedæmonian ſlaves, gave an opportunity of trying the ſtrength of either. Theſe men, who had for ſeveral centuries groaned

under the yoke of oppreſſion, and had been excluded from all hopes of riſing, merely by the influence of an unjuſt prejudice, at laſt took up arms againſt their maſters, and threatened no leſs than the deſtruction of the Spartan ſtate. In this extremity the Lacedæmonians ſent to Athens to implore ſuccour; but this was oppoſed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way adviſable to aſſiſt them, or to make a rival city powerful by their aſſiſtance. On the other hand, Cimon eſpouſed the cauſe of Sparta, declaring, that it was weak and inconſiſtent to maim the Grecian confederacy, by ſuffering one of its members to be tamely lopped away. His opinion for this time prevailed: he was permitted to march forth at the head of a numerous body to their relief, and the inſurrection was quelled at their approach. But ſhortly after the miſchief broke out afreſh. The Helots poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſtrong fortreſs of Ithome, and the Spartans again petitioned for Athenian aſſiſtance. It was now that the party of Pericles was found to prevail, and the Lacedæmonians were refuſed a compliance with their demands. Thus left to finiſh the war with their inſurgent ſlaves in the beſt manner they could, after beſieging Ithome, which held out for ten years, they at laſt became maſters of it, ſparing the lives

of thoſe who defended it, upon condition of leaving Peloponneſus ever after.

In the mean time, the refuſal on the ſide of Athens, and ſome indignities ſaid to have been received from the Lacedæmonians, revived a jealouſy that had long ſubſiſted between theſe rival ſtates, which continued thenceforward to operate with greater or more diminiſhed influence, until both were utterly unable to withſtand the ſmalleſt efforts of foreign invaſion.

The firſt inſtance the Athenians gave of their reſentment, was to baniſh Cimon, who had been a favourer of the Spartan cauſe, for ten years, from the city. They next diſſolved their alliance with Sparta, and entered into a treaty with the Argives, the profeſſed enemies of the former. The ſlaves of Ithome were alſo taken under Athenian protection, and ſettled with their families at Naupactus. All the privileges of Spartan ſubjects were demanded in behalf of the Athenians reſiding in Lacedæmon; and all the benefits of the Spartan laws, in behalf of their own dependent cities. But what contributed to widen the breach ſtill more, the city of Megara revolting from its alliance with Sparta, was protected and garriſoned by the Athenians: thus was laid the foundation of an inveterate hatred, which ended in mutual deſtruction of both ſtates.

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The chief motive to this inſolent and treacherous conduct of the Athenians, was the high tone of ſuperiority which they had aſſumed ever ſince the victory of Platæa. That victory had raiſed them to the ſaid national eminence with the Lacedæmonians. Their ideas of grandeur and rank had, from that period, been foſtering. It was not, in their opinion, ſufficient that they were accounted equal to the Spartans; ſhe muſt needs be looked upon as their ſuperiors. They, therefore, call themſelves the *Protectors of Greece*; they deſire that the convention of the ſtates ſhall be held at Athens; and determine to avenge the ſlighteſt affront by the edge of the ſword.

As in all beginning enmities, ſeveral treaties were entered into, and ſeveral leagues concluded on both ſides, till at laſt they came to a formal rupture. Two pitched battles between the Athenians and Corinthians, in which either ſide was alternately victorious, ſounded the alarm. Another followed between the Athenians and Spartans at Tangara, in which Cimon, forgetting the injury he had ſuſtained from his country, came to its aſſiſtance; but the Athenians ſuffered a defeat. A month or two after another engagement happened, and the Athenians were in their turn victorious. The conduct of Cimon again reſtored him to public favour; he was recalled from ba-

niſhment, in which he had ſpent five years; and it was Pericles, his rival, who firſt propoſed the decree.

The firſt uſe Cimon made of his return, was to reconcile the two rival ſtates to each other; and this was ſo far effected outwardly, that a truce for five years was concluded between them. This led the way to exerting the power of the ſtate upon a more diſtant enemy. By his advice, a fleet of two hundred ſail was manned, and deſtined under his command, to conquer the iſland of Cyprus. He quickly ſailed, over-ran the iſland, and laid ſiege to Citium. Here, being either wounded by the defendants, or waſted by ſickneſs, he began to perceive the approaches of diſſolution; but ſtill mindful of his duty, he ordered his attendants to conceal his death until their ſchemes were crowned with ſucceſs. They obeyed with ſecrecy and ſucceſs. Thirty days after he was dead, the army, which ſtill ſuppoſed itſelf under his command, gained a ſignal victory: thus he died not only in the arms of conqueſt, but gained battles merely by the efficacy of his name. With Cimon, in a great meaſure, expired the ſpirit of glory in Athens. As he was the laſt, ſo he was the moſt ſucceſsful of the Grecian heroes. Such was the terror of the Perſians at his name, that they univerſally deſerted the ſea-coaſts, and would

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not come within four hundred furlongs of the place where he could poſſibly be expected.

Pericles being now, by the death of Cimon, freed from a potent rival, ſet himſelf to complete the work of ambition which he had begun; and by dividing the conquered lands, amuſing the people with ſhows, and adorning the city with public buildings, he gained ſuch an aſcendant over the minds of the people, that he might be ſaid to have attained a monarchical power in Athens. He found means to maintain, for eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board the fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore ſhips, which he fitted out every year. He planted ſeveral colonies in the many places which had lately ſubmitted to Athens. By this he cleared the city of a great number of idle perſons, who were ever ready to diſturb government; and were, at the ſame time, unable to ſubſiſt. But the public buildings which he raiſed, the ruins of ſome of which ſubſiſt to this day, are ſufficient to endear his name to poſterity. It is ſurprizing, that in a city not noted for the number of its inhabitants, and in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, as that of his adminiſtration, ſuch laborious, expenſive, and magnificent works could be performed. All the arts of architecture, ſculpture, and painting were exhauſted in his deſigns; and what ſtill remain, continue

tinue to this hour as inimitable models of perfection. To effect these great works, he, in some measure, had recourse to injustice, and availed himself of those treasures which had been supplied by Greece for carrying on the war with Persia, and which having been lodged at Delos, he had address enough to get transported to Athens, where he expended them in securing his own power by all the arts of popularity. By these means Athens became so much admired, and envied by her neighbours, that it went by the name of the *Ornament*; and when it was urged that the common treasure was squandered away in these works of shew, Pericles answered, that the people of Athens were not accountable to any for their conduct; for they had the best right to the treasures of the confederated states, who took the greatest care to defend them. He added, that it was fit that ingenious artizans should have their share of the public money, since there was still enough left for carrying on the war.

These were rather the arguments of power than persuasion, of a man already in possession, than willing upon just grounds to relinquish what he claimed. It was seen not only by the wiser citizens, but by all the states of Greece, that he was daily striding into power, and that he would, as Pisistratus had done before, make the people the fabricators

fabricators of their own chains. For remedying this growing evil, the heads of the city oppoſed Thucydides to his growing power, and attempted to reſtrain his career by oppoſing eloquence to popularity.

Thucydides was brother-in-law to Cimon, and had diſplayed his wiſdom on numberleſs occaſions. He was not poſſeſſed of the military talents of his rival, but his eloquence gave him a very powerful influence over the people. As he never left the city, he ſtill combated Pericles in all his meaſures, and for a while brought down the ambition of his rival to the ſtandard of reaſon.

But his efforts could not long avail againſt the perſuaſive power and corrupt influence of his opponent. Pericles every day gained new ground, till he at laſt found himſelf poſſeſſed of the whole authority of the ſtate. It was then that he began to change his behaviour, and from acting the fawning and humble ſuppliant, he aſſumed the haughty airs of royalty. He now no longer ſubmitted himſelf to the caprice of the people, but changed the democratic ſtate of Athens into a kind of monarchy, without departing, however, from the public good. He would ſometimes indeed win his fellow-citizens over to his will; but at other times, when he found them obſtinate, he would in a manner compel them to conſult their own intereſts,

reſts. Thus, between power and perſuaſion, public profuſion, and private œconomy, political falſehood, and private integrity, Pericles became the principal ruler at Athens, and all ſuch as were his enemies, became the enemies of the ſtate.

It is not to be wondered, that this proſperous and magnificent ſtate of Athens was not a little diſpleaſing to the rival ſtates of Greece; eſpecially as its ſtate of ſplendor was, in ſome meaſure, formed from their contributions. The Spartans particularly, ſtill continued to regard this growing city with envy, and ſoon ſhewed their diſpleaſure, by refuſing to ſend deputies to Athens, to conſult about repairing the temple that had been burnt down during the wars with Perſia. The ſucceſſes of Pericles againſt the enemy in Thrace, ſtill more increaſed their uneaſineſs; and particularly when ſailing round Peloponneſus with an hundred ſhips, he protected the allies of Greece, and granted their cities all they thought fit to aſk him. Theſe ſucceſſes raiſed the indignation of Sparta, while they intoxicated Athens with ideas of ambition, and opened new inlets for meditating conqueſt. The citizens now began to talk of attempts upon Egypt, of attacking the maritime provinces of Perſia, of carrying their arms into Sicily, and of extending their conqueſts from Italy to Carthage. Theſe were views beyond their power, and that rather

rather marked their pride, than their ability or wiſdom.

An expedition againſt Samos, in favour of the Mileſians, who had craved their aſſiſtance, was the beginning of this rupture, which never after was cloſed up. It is pretended, that Pericles fomented this war, to pleaſe a famous courtezan named Aſpaſia, of whom he was particularly enamoured. After ſeveral events and battles, not worth the regard of hiſtory, Pericles beſieged the capital of Samos with tortoiſes and battering rams, which was the firſt time theſe military engines had been employed in ſieges. The Samians, after ſuſtaining a nine months ſiege, ſurrendered. Pericles razed their walls, diſpoſſeſſed them of their ſhips, and demanded immenſe ſums to defray the expences of the war. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, he returned to Athens, buried all thoſe who had loſt their lives in the ſiege in the moſt ſplendid manner, and pronounced their funeral oration.

A rupture now between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians ſeemed inevitable. Pericles, therefore, to anticipate the deſigns of the rival ſtate, adviſed that aid ſhould be ſent to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians, aſſiſted by the Lacedæmonians, had invaded. A. M. 3572.

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As the quarrel between the Corcyreans and Corinthians gave riſe to the great Peloponneſian war, which ſoon after involved all Greece, it will be neceſſary to give a ſlight account of its original. Epidamnus was a colony of the Corcyreans, which growing firſt rich, and ſoon after factious, baniſhed the chief of her citizens. The exiles joining with the Illyrians, brought the Epidamnians ſo low, that they were obliged to ſend to Corcyra, their parent city, for aſſiſtance. The Corcyreans rejecting their requeſt, they had recourſe to Corinth; and giving themſelves up to that ſtate, were taken under its protection. This, however, the Corcyreans began to reſent, and having been remiſs in affording aſſiſtance themſelves, reſolved to puniſh ſuch as ſhould offer any. A rupture took place between the Corinthians and Corcyreans, ſome naval engagements enſued, in which the Corcyreans being worſted, had recourſe, as has been already obſerved, to the Athenians for ſupport, who ſent ſome naval ſuccours, which, however, proved of no great efficacy in their defence.

From this war aroſe another: for Potidæa, a city belonging to Athens, declaring for Corinth, theſe two ſtates, from being acceſſories, became principals, and drew their forces into the field near Potidæa, where a battle enſued, in which the Athenians had the victory. It was in this battle that

Socrates ſaved the life of Alcibiades, his pupil; and after the battle was over, procured him the prize of valour, which he himſelf had more juſtly earned. The city of Potidæa was ſoon after beſieged, in conſequence of this victory, and the Corinthians complained to the ſtates of Greece againſt the Athenians, as having infringed the article of peace. The Lacedæmonians, in particular, admitted them to an audience, where the deputies of Corinth endeavoured to rouze them into a ſenſe of their danger from the ambitious deſigns of Athens; and threatened, if left unprotected, to put themſelves under the command of a power ſtrong enough to grant them protection and ſafety. After hearing what the Athenians had to reply, the Spartans came to a cloſe debate among themſelves, wherein it was univerſally agreed that the Athenians were the aggreſſors, and that they ſhould be reduced to a juſt ſenſe of their duty. But the diſpute was, whether war ſhould be immediately declared againſt them, or remonſtrances made to bring them to reaſon. Archidamus, one of their kings, a man of prudence and temper, was of opinion, that they were not at this time a match for Athens, and endeavoured to diſſuade them from ruſhing into a thoughtleſs and improvident war. But Sthenelaïdes, one of the Ephori, urged the contrary, alledging, that when once they

they had received an injury, they ought not to deliberate, but that revenge ſhould follow inſult. Accordingly a war was declared, and all the confederates were made acquainted with the reſolution.

War being thus reſolved upon, in order to give a colour of juſtice to their deſigns, the Lacedæmonians began by ſending ambaſſadors to Athens; and, while they made preparations for acting with vigour, ſtill kept up a ſhew of ſeeking redreſs by treaty. They required of the Athenians the expulſion of ſome who had profaned the temple of Minerva at Cylon from their city; they demanded that the ſiege of Potidæa ſhould be raiſed, and that the Athenians ſhould ceaſe to infringe upon the liberties of Greece.

Pericles now ſaw, that as he had led the Athenians into a war, it was incumbent upon him to inſpire them with courage to proſecute it with vigour. He ſhewed his countrymen that even trifles extorted from them with an air of command, were in themſelves a ſufficient ground for war; that they might promiſe themſelves a conſiderable ſhare of ſucceſs from the diviſion in the confederated councils of their opponents; that they had ſhipping to invade their enemies coaſts, and their city being well fortified, could not eaſily be taken by land. He concluded with telling them the abſolute neceſſity there was for war; and that the more chearfully

fully they undertook it, the eaſier it would be to bring it to an happy concluſion. That the greateſt honours had generally recurred to their ſtate from the greateſt extremities; that this ſhould ſerve to animate them in its defence, ſo as to tranſmit it with undiminiſhed honour to poſterity. The people, giddy, fond of change, and unterrified by diſtant dangers, readily came into his opinion; and to give ſome colour to their proceedings, returned evaſive anſwers to the Spartan demand; and concluded with aſſerting, that they deſired to adjuſt all differences by treaty, as unwilling to begin a war; but, in caſe of danger, they would defend themſelves with deſperate reſolution.

Thus the people, from their love of change, entered haſtily into the war, but Pericles was perſonally intereſted in its declaration. He was deeply indebted to the ſtate, and knew that a time of peace was the only opportunity in which he could be called upon to ſettle his accounts. It is ſaid that Alcibiades, his nephew, ſeeing him one day very penſive, and demanding the reaſon, was anſwered, that he was conſidering how to make up his accounts. "You had better, ſaid he, conſider how to avoid being accountable." Beſides this, Pericles finding no happineſs in domeſtic ſociety, gave himſelf up to the allurements of his miſtreſs Aſpaſia, whoſe wit and vivacity had captivated all

the poets and philoſophers of the age, Socrates himſelf not excepted. She was inclined to oppoſe the Spartan ſtate; and he, in ſome meaſure, is thought to have acquieſced in her advice.

War being thus reſolved on on every ſide, the firſt dawn of ſucceſs ſeemed to offer in favour of Athens; the city of Platæa, that had lately declared for them, was ſurprized by three hundred Thebans, who were let in by a party of the town that joined in the conſpiracy. But a part of the citizens that had eſpouſed the oppoſite intereſts, falling upon them in the night, killed a part, and took two hundred priſoners, who a little time after were put to death. The Athenians, as ſoon as the news was brought of this action, ſent ſuccours and proviſions thither, and cleared the city of all perſons who were incapable of bearing arms. From this time all Greece appeared in motion; every part of it took a ſide in the common quarrel, except a few ſtates, who continued neuter till they ſhould ſee the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece, and eſpouſed their intereſts with ardour. On their ſide were ranged the Achaians, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium. On the ſide of Athens, were the people of Chios, Leſbos, Platæa, many of the iſlands, and

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ſeveral tributary maritime ſtates, including thoſe of Thrace, Potidæa excepted.

The Lacedæmonians, immediately after their attempt upon Plataea, aſſembled a body of men, making up, with their confederates, ſixty thouſand in number: Archidamus, who commanded the army, harangued them in an animated ſpeech. He told them, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; that they were ſuperior in numbers, and were to oppoſe an enemy not only inferior in number, but oppreſſed with the conſciouſneſs of their own violence and injuſtice. He exhorted them to march boldly into the country they were about to enter, with that courage for which they had been long famous, and with that caution which was requiſite againſt ſo inſidious an adverſary. The whole army anſwered with an acclamation of joy; and thus that war, which was to be the deſtruction of Greece, was commenced in a phrenzy of tranſport by its ſhort-ſighted inhabitants, who hurried on to mutual ruin.

Pericles, on the other hand, prepared his ſcanty body of Athenians to meet the threatened blow. He declared to the Athenians, that ſhould Archidamus, when he was laying waſte the Athenian territories, ſpare any part of thoſe lands that belonged to Pericles himſelf, he would only conſider it as a trick to impoſe upon Athenian credulity;

dulity; he, therefore, gave up all his property in thoſe lands, and reſigned them back to the ſtate, from which his anceſtors had originally received them. He declared to the people, that it was their intereſt to protract the war, and to let the enemy be ruined by delay. He adviſed them to remove all their effects from their country, and to ſhut themſelves up in Athens, without ever hazarding a battle. Their troops indeed were but very ſcanty compared to thoſe they were to oppoſe; they amounted but to thirteen thouſand heavy armed ſoldiers, ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, and twelve hundred horſe, with a body of archers about double that number. This was the whole army of the Athenians; but their chief ſtrength conſiſted in a fleet of three hundred gallies, which, by continually infeſting and plundering the enemy's coaſt, raiſed contributions ſufficient to defray the expences of the war.

Impreſſed with the exhortation of Pericles, the Athenians, with a mixture of grief and reſolution, forſook the culture of their fields, and carried all their poſſeſſions that could be conveyed away with them into Athens. They had now enjoyed the ſweets of peace for near fifty years, and their lands bore an appearance of wealth and induſtry; but from the fate of war they were once more obliged

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to forſake culture for encampment, the ſweets of rural life, for the ſhocks of battle.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians entered the country at Oenoe, a frontier fortreſs, and leaving it behind them, marched forward to Acharne, an unwalled town, within ſeven miles of Athens. The Athenians, terrified at their approach, now began to convert their fury againſt the enemy into reproaches againſt their former leader. They abuſed him for bringing them into a war, in which he had neither ſtrength to oppoſe, nor courage to protect them; they loudly deſired, notwithſtanding the inferiority of their number, to be led into the field of battle. Pericles, however, choſe the more moderate part. He ſhut up the city gates, placed ſufficient guards at all the poſts around, ſent out parties of horſe to keep the enemy employed; and, at the ſame time, ordered out one hundred gallies, to infeſt the coaſts of Peloponneſus. Theſe precautions at laſt ſucceeded; after the Lacedæmonians had laid waſte the whole country round Athens, and inſulted the defenders of the city by their numbers and their reproaches, finding the place impregnable, they abandoned the ſiege, and the inhabitants once more iſſued from their walls in joy and ſecurity.

The Athenians, after this ſevere mortification, reſolved to retaliate; being left at liberty to act

offenſively, as well by land as ſea, they invaded the enemy's territory with their whole force in turn, and took Niſæ, a ſtrong haven, with walls reaching into the city of Nigara.

Proud of the firſt dawn of ſucceſs, the firſt campaign being elapſed, during the winter they expreſſed their triumph by public games at the funerals of thoſe that were ſlain in battle. They placed their bodies in tents three days before the funeral; upon the fourth day coffins of cyprus were ſent from the tribes, to convey the bones of their relations; the proceſſion marched with ſolemn pomp, attended by the inhabitants and ſtrangers who viſited the city; their relations and children of the ſoldiers who were killed, ſtood weeping at the ſepulchre; thoſe who fell at the battle of Marathon indeed were buried on the field, but the reſt received one common interment in a place called Cerannicus. Pericles, who had contributed to the ſaving of his country, contributed alſo to its honour, and pronounced a funeral oration over them, which remains to this day, at once a mark of his eloquence and his gratitude. But the joy of the public was not confined to empty praiſes, ceremonies, and tears; a ſtipend was ſet apart for maintaining the widows and the orphans of thoſe who fell in the ſervice of their country. And thus ended the firſt year of the Peloponneſian war.

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In the beginning of the enſuing ſummer, the Lacedæmonians renewed their hoſtilities, and invaded the territories of Athens with the ſame number of men as before. In this manner theſe capricious ſtates went on to harraſs and depopulate each other: but a more terrible puniſhment now began to threaten them from nature. A plague broke out in the city of Athens, a more terrible than which is ſcarcely recorded in the annals of hiſtory. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it deſcended into Egypt, from thence travelled into Libya and Perſia, and at laſt broke like a flood upon Athens. This peſtilence baffled the utmoſt efforts of art; the moſt robuſt conſtitutions were unable to withſtand its attacks; no ſkill could obviate, nor no remedy diſpel the terrible infection. The inſtant a perſon was ſeized, he was ſtruck with deſpair, which quite diſabled him from attempting a cure. The humanity of friends was as fatal to themſelves, as it was ineffectual to the unhappy ſufferers. The prodigious quantity of baggage which had been removed out of the country into the city, increaſed the calamity. Moſt of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could ſcarce breathe, while the burning heat of the ſummer increaſed the peſtilential malignity. They were ſeen confuſedly huddled together, the dead aswell as the dying;

ſome crawling through the ſtreets, ſome lying along by the ſides of fountains, whither they had endeavoured to repair, to quench the raging thirſt which conſumed them. Their very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful ſcene of mortality, without the leaſt remedy for the preſent, or the leaſt hopes with regard to futurity. It ſeized the people with ſuch violence, that they fell one upon another as they paſſed along the ſtreets. It was alſo attended with ſuch uncommon peſtilential vapours, that the very beaſts and birds of prey, though famiſhing round the walls of the city, would not touch the bodies of thoſe who died of it. Even in thoſe who recovered, it left ſuch a tincture of its malignity, that it ſtruck upon their ſenſes. It effaced the memory of all the paſſages of their former lives, and they knew neither themſelves nor their neareſt relations. The circumſtances of this diſeaſe are deſcribed at large by Thucydides, who was ſick of it himſelf; and he obſerves, among other effects of it, that it introduced into the city a more licentious way of living. For the people at firſt had recourſe to their gods to avert that judgment; but finding they were all alike infected, whether they worſhipped them or not, and that it was generally mortal, they abandoned themſelves at once to deſpair and riot; for ſince they held

their

their lives but as it were by the day, they were reſolved to make the moſt of their time and money. The cauſe of it was generally imputed to Pericles, who, by drawing ſuch numbers into the city, was thought to have corrupted the very air. Yet, though this was raging within, and the enemy waſting the country without, he was ſtill in the ſame mind as before, that they ought not to reſt all their hopes on the iſſue of a battle. In the mean time the enemy, advancing towards the coaſt, laid waſte the whole country, and returned, after having inſulted the wretched Athenians, already thinned by peſtilence and famine.

Fickleneſs and inconſtancy were the prevailing characters of the Athenians; and as theſe carried them on a ſudden to their greateſt exceſſes, they ſoon brought them back within the bounds of moderation and reſpect. Pericles had been long a favourite: the calamities of the ſtate at laſt began to render him obnoxious; they had depoſed him from the command of his army, but now repented their raſhneſs, and reinſtated him a ſhort time after, with more than former authority. By dint of ſuffering they began to bear patiently their domeſtic misfortunes; and, impreſt with a love of their country, to aſk pardon for their former ingratitude. But he did not live long to enjoy his honours. He was ſeized with the plague, which, like a malig-

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nant enemy, ſtruck its ſevereſt blow at parting. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his laſt, the principal citizens, and ſuch of his friends that had not forſaken him, diſcourſing in his bed-chamber concerning the loſs they were about to ſuſtain, ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories. They did not imagine that Pericles attended to what they ſaid, as he ſeemed inſenſible; but it was far otherwiſe, for not a ſingle word of their diſcourſe had eſcaped him. At laſt, cried he, why will you extol a ſeries of actions, in which fortune had the greateſt part: there is one circumſtance which I would not have forgotten, yet which you have paſſed over; I could wiſh to have it remembered, as the moſt glorious circumſtance of my life—that I never yet cauſed a ſingle citizen to put on mourning.

Thus died Pericles, in whom were united a number of excellent qualities without impairing each other. As well ſkilled in naval affairs as in the conduct of armies; as well ſkilled in the arts of raiſing money as of employing it; eloquent in public, and pleaſing in private; he was a patron of artiſts, at once informing them by his taſte and example.

The moſt memorable tranſaction of the following years, was the ſiege of Platæa, by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the moſt famous ſieges in

in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties, but eſpecially for the glorious reſiſtance made by the beſieged, and the ſtratagems to eſcape the fury of the aſſailants.

The Lacedæmonians beſieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As ſoon as they had fixed their camp round the city, in order to lay waſte the places adjacent, the Platæans ſent deputies to the Lacedæmonian general, declaring the injuſtice of injuring them, who had received their liberties on a former occaſion from the Lacedæmonians themſelves. The Lacedæmonians replied, that there was but one method to inſure their ſafety; which was, to renew that alliance by which they had originally procured their freedom; to diſclaim their Athenian ſupporters, and to unite with the Lacedæmonians, who had power and will to protect them. The deputies replied, they could not poſſibly come to any agreement without firſt ſending to Athens, whither their wives and children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to ſend thither; and the Athenians ſolemnly promiſing to ſuccour them to the utmoſt of their power, the Platæans reſolved to ſuffer the laſt extremities, rather than ſurrender, and prepared for a vigorous defence, with a ſteady reſolution to ſucceed or fall.

Archidamus,

Archidamus, the Lacedæmonian general, after calling upon the gods to witneſs that he did not firſt infringe the alliance, prepared for the ſiege with equal perſeverance. He ſurrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid very cloſe together, their branches turned towards the city. He then raiſed batteries upon them, and formed a terrace ſufficient to ſupport his warlike machines. His army worked night and day without intermiſſion for ſeventy days, one half of the ſoldiers repoſing themſelves while the others were at work.

The beſieged obſerving the works begin to riſe round them, threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city, oppoſite the platform, in order that they might always out-top the beſiegers. This wall was covered on the outſide with hides, both raw and dry, in order to ſhelter it from the beſiegers fires. Thus both walls ſeemed to vie with each other for ſuperiority, till at laſt the beſieged, without amuſing themſelves at this work any longer, built another within, in the form of a half moon, behind which they might retire, in caſe their outer works were forced.

In the mean time the beſiegers, having mounted their engines of war, ſhook the city wall in a very terrible manner; which, though it alarmed the citizens, did not however diſcourage them: they employed

employed every art that fortification could ſuggeſt againſt the enemy's batteries. They catched with ropes the heads of the battering rams that were urged againſt them, and deadened their force with levers. The beſiegers finding their attack did not go on ſucceſsfully, and that a new wall was raiſed againſt their platform, deſpaired of being able to ſtorm the place; and therefore changed the ſiege into a blockade, after having vainly attempted to ſet fire to the city, which was ſuddenly quenched by a ſhower. The city was now ſurrounded by a brick wall, ſuddenly erected, ſtrengthened on each ſide by a deep ditch. The whole army was engaged ſucceſſively upon this wall, and when it was finiſhed they left a guard over half of it; the Bœotians offering to guard the other half, while the reſt of the army returned to Sparta.

In this manner the wretched Platæans were cooped up by a ſtrong wall, without any hopes of redreſs, and only awaited the mercy of the conqueror. There were now in Platæa but four hundred inhabitants, and fourſcore Athenians, with an hundred and ten women to dreſs their victuals, and no other perſon, whether freeman or ſlave, all the reſt having been ſent to Athens before the ſiege. At laſt the inhabitants of Platæa, having loſt all hopes of ſuccour, and being in the utmoſt want of proviſions, formed a reſolution to cut their way

through the enemy. But half of them, ſtruck with the greatneſs of the danger, and the boldneſs of the enterprize, entirely loſt courage when they came to the execution; but the reſt (who were about two hundred and twenty ſoldiers) perſiſted in their reſolution, and eſcaped in the following manner. The beſieged firſt took the height of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which compoſed it; and this they did at different times, and employed ſeveral men for that purpoſe, in order that they might not miſtake in the calculation. This was the eaſier, becauſe as the wall ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance, every part of it was very viſible. They then made ladders of a proper length. All things being now ready for executing the deſign, the beſieged left the city one night when there was no moon, in the midſt of a ſtorm of wind and rain. After croſſing the firſt ditch, they drew near the wall undiſcovered through the darkneſs of the night, not to mention that the noiſe made by the rain and wind prevented their being heard. They marched at ſome diſtance from one another, to prevent the claſhing of their arms, which were light, in order that thoſe who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked, to keep them from ſliding ſo eaſily in the mire. Thoſe who carried the ladders, laid them in the ſpace between the towers, where they knew no guard

guard was poſted, becauſe it rained. That inſtant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, ſix on each ſide. They were followed by ſoldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the eaſier, and their ſhields were carried after them to be uſed in the charge. When moſt of theſe were got to the top of the wall, they were diſcovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades in taking hold of the parapet had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole army approached the wall, without diſcovering the occaſion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night and the violence of the ſtorm. Beſides which, thoſe who had ſtaid behind in the city, beat an alarm at the ſame time in another quarter, to make a diverſion; ſo that the enemy did not know which way to turn themſelves, and were afraid to quit their poſts. But a corps de reſerve of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeſeen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noiſe, and torches were held up towards Thebes, to ſhew that they muſt run that way. But thoſe in the city, to render the ſignal of no uſe, made others at the ſame time in different quarters, having prepared them on the walls for that purpoſe.

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In the mean time, thoſe who had mounted firſt having poſſeſſed themſelves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were ſet, and having killed thoſe who guarded them, poſted themſelves there to defend the paſſage, and keep off the beſiegers. Then ſetting ladders on the top of the wall, betwixt the two towers, they cauſed a good number of their comrades to mount, in order to keep off, by the diſcharge of their arrows, as well thoſe who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as the others who were haſtening to the neighbouring towers. Whilſt this was doing they had time to ſet up ſeveral ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the reſt might come up with greater eaſe. As faſt as they came up, they went down on the other ſide, and drew up near the foſſe, on the outſide, to ſhoot at thoſe who appeared. After they were paſſed over, the men who were in the towers came down laſt, and made to the foſſe, to follow after the reſt. That inſtant the guard, with three hundred torches, came up. However, as the Platæans ſaw their enemies by this light better than they were ſeen by them, they therefore took a ſurer aim, by which means the laſt croſſed the ditch, without being attacked in their paſſage. However, this was not done without much difficulty, becauſe the ditch was frozen over, and the ice would not bear, on account of a thaw

thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the ſtorm was of great advantage to them. After all were paſſed they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat, becauſe it was not likely they had fled towards a city of the enemy's. Immediately they perceived the beſiegers with torches in their hands purſuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about ſix or ſeven ſtadia, they turned ſhort towards the mountain, and reſumed the route of Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived out of two hundred and twenty, who had quitted the place, the reſt having returned back to it through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the ſide of the foſſe of contravallation. The beſiegers, after having purſued them to no purpoſe, returned to their camp. In the mean time, the Platæans who remained in the city, ſuppoſing that all their companions had been killed (becauſe they who were returned to juſtify themſelves, affirmed they were) ſent a herald to demand their dead bodies; but being told the true ſtate of the affair, he withdrew. At the end of the following campaign, the Platæans being in abſolute want of proviſions, and unable to make the leaſt defence, ſurrendered upon condition that they ſhould not be puniſhed till they had been tried and adjudged in form of juſtice. Five commiſſioners came for this purpoſe

from Lacedæmon, and theſe, without charging them with any crime, barely aſked them whether they had done any ſervice to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war? The Platæans were much ſurprized, as well as puzzled at this queſtion, and were ſenſible, that it had been ſuggeſted by the Thebans, their profeſſed enemies, who had vowed their deſtruction. They, therefore, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the ſervices they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemiſium and that of Platæa, and particularly in Lacedæmonia at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their ſlaves. The only reaſon they offered for their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was to defend themſelves from the hoſtilities of the Thebans, againſt whom they had implored the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpoſe. That if that was imputed to them as a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not, however, entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former ſervices. "Caſt your eyes, ſaid they, on the monuments of your anceſtors which you ſee here, to whom we annually pay all the honours which can be rendered to the names of the dead. You thought fit to entruſt their bodies with us, as we were eye-witneſſes of their bravery. And yet you will now give up their aſhes to their murtherers

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in abandoning us to the Thebans, who fought againſt them at the battle of Platæa. Will you enſlave a province where Greece recovered its liberty? Will you deſtroy the temples of thoſe gods to whom you owed the victory? Will you aboliſh the memory of their founders, who contributed ſo greatly to your ſafety? On this occaſion, we may venture to ſay, our intereſt is inſeparable from your glory, and you cannot deliver up your ancient friends and benefactors to the unjuſt hatred of the Thebans, without eternal infamy to yourſelves." One would conclude, that theſe juſt remonſtrances muſt have made ſome impreſſion on the Lacedæmonians; but they were biaſſed more by the anſwer the Thebans made, and which was expreſſed in the moſt haughty and bitter terms againſt the Platæans; and beſides, they had brought their inſtructions from Lacedæmon. They ſtood, therefore, to their firſt queſtion, Whether the Platæans has done them any ſervice ſince the war? and making them paſs one after another, as they ſeverally anſwered No, each was immediately butchered, and not one eſcaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner, and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the ſame unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken priſoners, were made ſlaves. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from

Megara and Thebes, but the year after they demoliſhed it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, ſacrificed the Platæans to their animoſity, ninety-three years after their firſt alliance with the Athenians.

Much about this time was ſet on foot the expedition for the relief of Leſbos. But the Peloponneſians hearing in their voyage, of a violent inſurrection in Corcyra, reſolved to ſail thither, hoping that the diſaffected ſtate of that iſland would make it fall an eaſy prey to their army. They were, however, diſappointed in their expectation: for the Corcyrians had become ſo exaſperated and ſo deſperate, as to deter the moſt daring enemy from approaching their city. It was about the ſame time alſo, that Sicily began to be agitated by a quarrel, that took place between the inhabitants of Syracuſe and thoſe of Leontium. Their diſſenſions ran high: but the detail of them, and of the operations at Corcyra, and other places, I am inclined to paſs over in ſilence, as they were incidents in which the Grecian ſtates mutually deſtroyed each other, without promoting general happineſs, or eſtabliſhing any common form of government. The fluctuations of ſucceſs were various. The Athenians took the city of Pylus from the Lacedæmonians; and they, on the other hand, made annual incurſions into Attica. More than one

one overture for a peace was made by the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors without effect; for Cleon, who had a great aſcendant among the Athenians, boaſted that he would take all the Spartans priſoners in the iſland of Sphacteria, within twenty days. The war was, therefore, renewed, with all its former animoſities. This iſland, which was ſituated near Pylus, became the ſcene of mutual contention. Demoſthenes, the Athenian Admiral (whoſe valour and conduct his eloquent deſcendant of the ſame name, afterwards extolled) being joined in commiſſion with Cleon, landed on the iſland, in order to diſpoſſeſs the Lacedæmonians, who ſtill remained there. They attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from poſt to poſt, and gaining ground perpetually, at laſt forced them to the extremity of the iſland. The Lacedæmonians had ſtormed a fort that was thought inacceſſible. There they drew up in order of battle, faced about to that ſide only where they could be attacked, and defended themſelves like ſo many lions. As the engagement had laſted the greateſt part of the day, and the ſoldiers were oppreſſed with heat and wearineſs, and parched with thirſt, the general of the Meſſenians directing himſelf to Cleon and Demoſthenes, the general who was joined in commiſſion with him, ſaid, that all their efforts would be to no purpoſe, unleſs they charged

their enemy's rear; and he promiſed, if they would give him but ſome troops, armed with miſſive weapons, that he would endeavour to find a paſſage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain ſteep and craggy places, which were not guarded; then coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a ſudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage, and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble reſiſtance, and being oppreſſed with numbers, attacked on all ſides, and dejected through fatigue and deſpair, they began to give way: but the Athenians ſeized on all the paſſes, and cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demoſthenes finding, that ſhould the battle continue, not a man of them would eſcape, and being deſirous of carrying them alive to Athens, commanded their ſoldiers to deſiſt, and cauſed proclamation to be made to them by a herald to lay down their arms and ſurrender at diſcretion. At theſe words the greateſt part lowered their ſhields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed upon, and their commander deſired that leave might be granted him to diſpatch a meſſenger to the camp, to know the reſolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coaſt, and after ſeveral meſſages, a Lacedæmonian advanced

vanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not ſubmit to diſhonourable terms. Upon this, they held a conference, after which they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raiſing a trophy, and reſtoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after diſtributing the priſoners among the ſeveral ſhips, and committing the guard of them to the captains of the gallies. In this battle one hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at firſt; ſo that there ſurvived not quite three hundred, an hundred and twenty of whom were inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The ſiege of the iſland (to compute from the beginning of it, including the time employed in the truce) had laſted threeſcore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus, and Cleon's promiſe, though deemed ſo vain and raſh, was found literally true. But the moſt ſurprizing circumſtance was the capitulation that had been made; for it was believed, that the Lacedæmonians, ſo far from ſurrendering their arms, would die ſword in hand. Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain priſoners till a peace ſhould be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incurſions into their country, for that

then they ſhould all be put to death. They left a garriſon in Pylus. The Meſſenians of Naupactus, who had formerly poſſeſſed it, ſent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infeſted the Lacedæmonians by their incurſions; and as theſe Meſſenians ſpoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of ſlaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians dreading a greater evil, ſent ſeveral deputations to Athens, but to no purpoſe; the Athenians being too much elated with their proſperity, and eſpecially their late ſucceſs, to liſten to any terms. For two or three years ſucceſſively hoſtilities were carried on with alternate ſucceſs, and nothing but the humbling of the one or other of the two rival ſtates could decide the quarrel. The Athenians made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Cythera; but, on the other hand, were defeated by the Lacedæmonians at Dellion. At length the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expence, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce for a year was, therefore, concluded between them, which ſerved to pave the way for a more laſting reconciliation. The death of the two generals that commanded the contending armies, ſerved not a little to haſten this event. Braſidas, the Lacedæmonian, was killed as he was conducting a ſally, when beſieged

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in Amphipolis; and Cleon, the Athenian, deſpiſing an enemy to which he knew himſelf ſuperior, was ſet upon unawares, and, flying for ſafety, was killed by a ſoldier who happened to meet him. Thus theſe two men, who had long oppoſed the tranquillity of Greece, and raiſed their reputations but in a very different way, fell a ſacrifice to their own ambition.

They were, however, men of very oppoſite characters. Braſidas had courage and conduct, moderation and integrity; and it was he alone who, at this time, kept up the ſinking reputation of his country. He was the only Spartan, ſince Pauſanias, who appeared with any eſtabliſhed character among the confederates, to whom he behaved ſo well, that they were again brought under the dependence of Sparta; and ſeveral cities came in to him as their common deliverer from the tyranny of Athens. The inhabitants of Amphipolis, beſides their joining with the other allies in ſolemnizing his funeral in a public manner, inſtituted anniverſary games and ſacrifices to his memory as an hero; and ſo far conſidered him as their founder, that they deſtroyed all the monuments which had been preſerved as marks of their being an Athenian colony. His oppoſition to the peace was not ſo much the effect of his obſtinacy, as of a true Spartan zeal for the honour of his country, which

which he was ſenſible had been treated by the Athenians with too much inſolence and contempt. He had now a fair proſpect of bringing them to reaſon, as he was gaining ground upon them, and every day making freſh conqueſts; and, however he might be tranſported with the glory of performing great actions, yet the main end of his ambition ſeems to have been, the bringing the war to an happy concluſion. I muſt not here omit the generous anſwer his mother made to the perſons who brought her the news of his death. Upon her aſking them whether he died honourably, they naturally fell into encomiums on his great exploits, and his perſonal bravery, and preferred him to all the generals of his time:—"Yes," ſaid ſhe, "my ſon was a valiant man, but Sparta has ſtill many citizens braver than he."

Cleon was another ſort of man: he was raſh, arrogant, and obſtinate; contentious, envious, and malicious; covetous and corrupt; and yet, with all theſe bad qualities, he had ſome little arts of popularity, which raiſed and ſupported him. He made it his buſineſs to careſs the old men; and, as much as he loved money, he often relieved the poor. He had a readineſs of wit, with a kind of drollery, that took with many, though with the generality it paſſed for impudence and buffoonery. He had one very refined way of recommending himſelf,

himſelf, which was, upon his coming into power, to diſcard all his old friends, for fear it ſhould be thought he would be biaſſed by them. At the ſame time he picked up a ſet of vile ſycophants in their room, and made a ſervile court to the loweſt dregs of the people; and yet even they had ſo bad an opinion of him, that they often declared againſt him for Nicias, his profeſſed enemy; who, though he took part with the nobility, ſtill preſerved an intereſt with the commons, and was more generally reſpected. That which Cleon chiefly depended on, was his eloquence; but it was of a boiſterous kind, verboſe and petulant, and conſiſted more in the vehemence of his ſtyle and utterance, and the diſtortion of his action and geſture, than in the ſtrength of his reaſoning. By this furious manner of haranguing, he introduced among the orators and ſtateſmen a licentiouſneſs and indecency which were not known before, and which gave riſe to the many riotous and diſorderly proceedings which took place afterwards in the aſſemblies, when almoſt every thing was carried by noiſe and tumult. In the military part of his ſervice he was as unaccountable as in the reſt of his conduct. He was not naturally formed for war, and only made uſe of it as a cloak for his ill practices, and becauſe he could not carry on his other views without it. His taking Sphacteria was certainly a great action,

but

but it was a raſh and deſperate one; and it has been ſhewn how he was undeſignedly drawn into it by a boaſt of his own. However, he was ſo elated with the ſucceſs of that expedition, that he fancied himſelf a general, and the people were brought to have the ſame opinion. But the event ſoon undeceived them, and convinced them that he knew better how to lead in the aſſembly than in the field. In reality, he was not a man to be truſted in either; for in the one he was more of a bluſterer than of a ſoldier, and in the other he had more of an incendiary than a patriot.

The Lacedæmonians were no leſs inclined to peace than the Athenians, and were glad to treat at this time, while they could do it with honour: beſides, they had nothing more at heart than the impriſonment of their men taken at Pylus, they being the chief of their city; and among other conſiderations, it was not the leaſt, that the truce which they had made with Argos for thirty years, was juſt upon expiring. This was a ſtrong and flouriſhing city, and though it was not of itſelf a match for Sparta, yet they knew it was far from being contemptible; and that it held too good a correſpondence with its neighbours not to make itſelf capable of giving them a great deal of uneaſineſs. The matter having been canvaſſed and debated moſt part of the winter, the Lacedæmonians,

nians, to bring the treaty to a concluſion, gave out, that they reſolved, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, to fortify in Attica. Upon which the Athenians grew more moderate in their demands, and a peace was concluded in the tenth year of the war, between the two ſtates and their confederates, for fifty years, the chief articles being, that the garriſons ſhould be evacuated, and the towns and priſoners reſtored on both ſides. This was called the Nician peace, becauſe Nicias, who was juſt the reverſe of his rival Cleon, was the chief inſtrument in effecting it. Beſides the tender concern he always expreſſed for his country, he had more particular ends in it, in ſecuring his reputation: for he had been upon many expeditions, and had generally ſucceeded in them; but yet he was ſenſible how much he owed to his good fortune and his cautious management, and he did not care to riſque what he had already got for the hopes of more.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

From the Peace of Nicias, to the End of the Peloponnesian War.

EVERY thing now promiſed a reſtoration of former tranquillity. The Bœotians and Corinthians were the firſt who ſhewed ſigns of diſcontent, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours to excite freſh troubles. To obviate any dangers ariſing from that quarter, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians united in a league offenſive and defenſive, which ſerved to render them more formidable to the neighbouring ſtates, and more aſſured with regard to each other. Yet ſtill the former animoſities and jealouſies fermented at bottom; and while friendſhip ſeemed to gloſs over external appearances, freſh diſcontents were gathering within. The character, indeed, of Nicias was peaceable, and he did all in his power to perſuade the Athenians to ſeek the general tranquillity. But a new promoter of troubles was now beginning to make his appearance, and from him, thoſe who wiſhed for peace had every thing to fear. This was no other than the celebrated Alcibiades, the diſcipline of Socrates, a youth equally remarkable for

for the beauty of his perſon, and the greatneſs of his mental accompliſhments.

The ſtrict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates, is one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances of his life. This philoſopher obſerving excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his perſon, beſtowed incredible pains in cultivating ſo valuable a plant, leſt, being neglected, it ſhould wither as it grew, and abſolutely degenerate: and, indeed, Alcibiades was expoſed to numberleſs dangers; the greatneſs of his extraction, his vaſt riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his perſonal talents, his exquiſite beauty, and, ſtill more than theſe, the flattery and complaiſance of all who approached him. One would have concluded, ſays Plutarch, that fortune had ſurrounded and inveſted him with all theſe pretended advantages, as with ſo many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inacceſſible and invulnerable to all the darts of philoſophy, thoſe ſalutary darts which ſtrike to the very heart, and leave in it the ſtrongeſt incitements to virtue and ſolid glory. But thoſe very obſtacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates. Notwithſtanding the ſtrong endeavours that were uſed to divert this young Athenian from a correſpondence which alone was capable of ſecuring him from ſo many ſnares, he devoted himſelf en-

tirely to it: he had the moſt unbounded wit; he was fully ſenſible of Socrates's extraordinary merit, and could not reſiſt the charms of his ſweetly inſinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater aſcendant over him than the allurements of pleaſure. He was ſo zealous a diſciple of that great maſter, that he followed him wherever he went; took the utmoſt delight in his converſation, was extremely well pleaſed with his principles, received his inſtructions, and even his reprimands, with wonderful docility, and was ſo moved with his diſcourſes, as even to ſhed tears, and abhor himſelf: ſo weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in ſo odious a light did he ſhew the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himſelf. Alcibiades, in thoſe moments when he liſtened to Socrates, differed ſo much from himſelf, that he appeared quite another man. However, his head-ſtrong, fiery temper, and his natural fondneſs for pleaſure, which was heightened and inflamed by the diſcourſes and advice of young people, ſoon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him as it were from his maſter, who was obliged to purſue him as a ſlave who had eſcaped correction. This viciſſitude of flights and returns of virtuous reſolutions, and relapſes into vice, continued a long time; but ſtill Socrates was not diſguſted by his levity, and always flattered himſelf

himſelf with the hopes of bringing him back to his duty; and hence certainly aroſe the ſtrong mixture of good and evil that always appeared in his conduct; the inſtructions which his maſter had given him ſometimes prevailing, and, at other times, the fire of his paſſions hurrying him, in a manner, againſt his own will into things of a quite oppoſite nature. Among the various paſſions that were diſcovered in him, the ſtrongeſt and moſt prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to ſubmit to it, and could not bear a ſuperior, or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents ſmoothed the way to his attaining the higheſt employments in the republic, yet it was his wiſh, that the confidence of the people ſhould be gained by the force of his eloquence, and the perſuaſive grace of his orations. To this end, his intimacy with Socrates might be of great ſervice. Alcibiades, with ſuch a caſt of mind as we have deſcribed, was not born for repoſe, and had ſet every engine at work to reverſe the treaty lately concluded between the two ſtates; but not ſucceeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was diſguſted at the Lacedæmonians, becauſe they directed themſelves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, ſeemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his anceſtors had

enjoyed the rights of hoſpitality among them. The firſt thing he did to infringe the peace was this: having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to differ with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared, he flattered them ſecretly with the hopes that the Athenians would ſuccour them, by ſuggeſting to them, that they were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them. Accordingly, he laid hold of this juncture, and improved the pretext the Lacedæmonians had given to exaſperate the people both againſt them and Nicias: which had ſo good an effect, that every thing ſeemed diſpoſed for a treaty with Argos: of which the Lacedæmonians being very apprehenſive, immediately diſpatched their ambaſſadors to Athens, who at firſt ſaid what ſeemed very ſatisfactory, that they came with full power to concert all matters in difference upon equal terms. The council received their propoſitions, and the people were to aſſemble the next day to give them audience. Alcibiades, in the mean while, fearing leſt this negociation ſhould ruin his deſigns, had a ſecret conference with the ambaſſadors, and perſuaded them, under a colour of friendſhip, not to let the people know at firſt what full powers their commiſſion gave them, but intimate, that they came only to treat and make propoſals; for that otherwiſe they would grow

grow exorbitant in their demands, and extort from them ſuch unreaſonable terms as they could not with honour conſent to. They were ſo well ſatisfied with the prudence and ſincerity of this advice, that he drew them from Nicias to rely entirely upon himſelf; and the next day, when the people were aſſembled, and the ambaſſadors introduced, Alcibiades, with a very obliging air, demanded of them with what powers they were come? They made anſwer, that they were not come as plenipotentiaries. Upon which he inſtantly changed his voice and countenance, and exclaiming againſt them as notorious liars, bid the people take care how they tranſacted any thing with men on whom they could have ſo little dependence. The people diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors in a rage; and Nicias knowing nothing of the deceit, was confounded and in diſgrace. To redeem his credit, he propoſed being ſent once more to Sparta; but not being able to gain ſuch terms there as the Athenians demanded, they immediately upon his return ſtruck up a league with the Argives for an hundred years, including the Eleans and Mantineans; which yet did not in terms cancel that with the Lacedæmonians, though it is plain, that the whole intent of it was levelled againſt them. Upon this new alliance, Alcibiades was declared general; and though his beſt friends could not commend the method by

which he brought about his designs, yet it was looked upon as a great reach in politics, thus to divide and shake almost all Peloponnesus, and to remove the war so far from the Athenian frontier, that even success would profit the enemy but little should they be conquerors; whereas, if they were defeated, Sparta itself would be hardly safe.

This defection of the confederates began to awaken the jealousy of Sparta; they resolved, therefore, to remedy the evil before it spread too far: wherefore, drawing out their whole force, both of citizens and slaves, and being joined by their allies, they encamped almost under the walls of Argos. The Argives having notice of their march, made all possible preparations, and came out with a full resolution to fight them. But just as they were going to engage, two of their officers went over to Agis the Spartan king and general, and proposed to him to have the business made up by a reference. He immediately closing with the offer, granted them a truce for four months, and drew off his army; the whole affair being transacted by these three, without any general consent or knowledge on either side. The Peloponnesians, though they durst not disobey their orders, inveighed grievously against Agis for letting such an advantage slip as they could never promise to themselves again. For they had actually hemmed

in

in the enemy, and that with the beſt, if not the greateſt army, that ever was brought into the field. And the Argives were ſo little apprehenſive of danger on their ſide, that they were no leſs incenſed againſt their mediators, one of whom they forced to the altars to ſave his life, and confiſcated his goods.

Thus every thing ſeemed to favour the Athenian intereſt; and their proſperity, for this was the moſt flouriſhing period of their duration, blinded them to ſuch a degree, that they were perſuaded no power was able to reſiſt them. In this diſpoſition they reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of adding the iſland of Sicily to their empire; and an occaſion ſoon offered of executing their reſolution. Ambaſſadors were ſent from the people of Egeſta, who in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid againſt the inhabitants of Selinuta, who were aſſiſted by the Syracuſans. They repreſented, among other things, that ſhould they be abandoned, the Syracuſans, after ſeizing their city, as they had done that of Leontium, would poſſeſs themſelves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponneſians, who were their founders; and that they might put them to as little charge as poſſible, they offered to pay the troops that ſhould be ſent to ſuccour them. The Athenians, who had long waited for an opportunity to declare themſelves,

ſelves, ſent deputies to Egeſta, to enquire into the ſtate of affairs, and to ſee whether there was money enough in the treaſury to defray the expence of ſo great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been ſo artful as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and ſilver vaſes, worth an immenſe ſum of money, and of theſe they made a ſhew when the Athenians arrived. The deputies returned with thoſe of Egeſta, who carried threeſcore talents in ingots, as a month's pay for the gallies which they demanded, and a promiſe of larger ſums, which they ſaid were ready both in the public treaſury and in the temples. The people ſtruck with theſe fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themſelves the leiſure to examine, and ſeduced with the advantageous reports which their deputies made by the view of pleaſing them, immediately granted the Egeſtans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus to command the fleet, with full power not only to ſuccour Egeſta, and reſtore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city, but alſo to regulate the affairs of Sicily, in ſuch a manner as might beſt ſuit the intereſts of the republic. Nicias was appointed one of the generals to his very great regret; for, beſides other motives, which made him dread that command, he ſhunned it becauſe Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But the Athenians

Athenians promiſed themſelves greater ſucceſs from this war, ſhould they not reſign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardour and audacity with the coldneſs and wiſdom of Nicias. Nicias not daring to oppoſe Alcibiades openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by ſtarting a great number of difficulties, drawn particularly from the great expence of this expedition. He declared, that ſince they were reſolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in ſuch a manner as might ſuit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained. That a fleet was not ſufficient to oppoſe ſo formidable a power as that of the Syracuſans and their allies: that they muſt raiſe an army compoſed of good horſe and foot, if they deſired to act in a manner worthy of ſo noble a deſign: that, beſides their fleet, which was to make them maſters at ſea, they muſt have a great number of tranſports to carry proviſions perpetually to the army, which otherwiſe could not poſſibly ſubſiſt in an enemy's country: that they muſt carry vaſt ſums of money with them, without waiting for that promiſed them by the citizens of Egeſta, who perhaps were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promiſe; that they ought to weigh and examine the diſparity there was between themſelves and their enemies with regard to the conveniencies and wants of the army, the Syracuſans being in

their own country, in the midſt of powerful allies, diſpoſed by inclination as well as engaged by intereſt, to aſſiſt them with men, arms, horſes, and proviſions; whereas the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country, poſſeſſed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them in leſs than four months time; a country where all things would oppoſe the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms: that it would reflect the greateſt ignominy on the Athenians, ſhould they be forced to abandon their enterprize, and thereby become the ſcorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which ſo important a deſign required: that as for himſelf, he was determined not to go, unleſs he was provided with all things neceſſary for the expedition, becauſe the ſafety of the whole army depended on that circumſtance; and that he would not rely on caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies. Nicias had flattered himſelf, that this ſpeech would cool the ardour of the people; whereas it only inflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raiſe as many troops, and fit out as many gallies as they ſhould judge neceſſary: and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens, and other places, with inexpreſſible activity.

Before

Before we enter upon the narration of the important events that took place in the expedition to Sicily, it will be proper to ſay a few words reſpecting Syracuſe, the capital of that iſland. About the year of the world 2920, Corinth had acquired conſiderable reputation as a maritime power. As the improvement of navigation generally leads to diſcovery, ſo it leads to commerce alſo, and to colonization. It had this effect on the Corinthians. They had not been long acquainted with Sicily, before they projected the ſcheme of peopling part of it with the natives of Peloponneſus. Archias, therefore, a deſcendant of Hercules, was ſent with a fleet, furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for ſuch an enterprize. He built and peopled Syracuſe; which, from the peculiar advantages which it derived from its rich ſoil and capacious harbours, ſoon became the moſt flouriſhing city in Sicily: in ſize, indeed, and beauty, it yielded not to any city in Greece. It was long ſubject to Corinth, and governed by nearly the ſame laws. But as it increaſed in power, it became proud and inſolent, and by degrees renounced its allegiance. To its emancipation are owing the occurrences which we are now to recite.

The levies being now prepared, the fleet ſet ſail, after having appointed Corcyra the rendezvous for moſt of the allies, and ſuch ſhips as were to carry

carry the proviſions and warlike ſtores. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Pyræus. The former attended by their children, relations, friends, and companions, with a joy overcaſt with a little ſorrow, upon their bidding adieu to perſons that were as dear to them as life; who were ſetting out on a diſtant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they would ever return, though they flattered themſelves with the hopes that it would be ſucceſsful. The foreigners came thither, to feed their eyes with a ſight which was highly worthy of their curioſity; for no ſingle city in the world had ever fitted out ſo gallant a fleet. Thoſe indeed which had been ſent againſt Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as conſiderable with regard to the number of ſoldiers and ſhips, but then they were not equipped with ſo much magnificence, neither was their voyage ſo long, nor their enterprize ſo important. Here were ſeen a land and a naval army provided with the utmoſt care, and at the expence of particular perſons, as well as of the public, with all things neceſſary on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furniſhed an hundred empty gallies, that is, threeſcore light ones, and forty to tranſport the ſoldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma, or ten-pence Engliſh for his pay,

pay, excluſively of what the captains of ſhips gave the rowers of the firſt bench. Add to this, the pomp and magnificence that was diſplayed univerſally, every one ſtriving to eclipſe the reſt, and each endeavouring to make his ſhip the lighteſt, and, at the ſame time, the gayeſt in the whole fleet. I ſhall not take notice of the choice of the ſoldiers or ſeamen, who were the flower of the Athenians, nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatneſs of their arms and equipage, any more than of their officers, who had laid out conſiderable ſums purely to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their perſons and circumſtances; ſo that this ſight had the idea of a pageant, in which the utmoſt magnificence was diſplayed rather than of a warlike expedition. But the boldneſs and greatneſs of the deſign ſtill exceeded its expence and ſplendor.

When the ſhips were loaded, and the troops got on board, the trumpet ſounded, and ſolemn prayers were offered up for the ſucceſs of the expedition; gold and ſilver cups were filling every where with wine, and the accuſtomed libations were poured out; the people who lined the ſhore ſhouting, at the ſame time, and lifting up their hands to heaven to wiſh their fellow-citizens a good voyage and ſucceſs. And now the hymn being ſung, and the ceremonies ended, the ſhips ſailed one after another

another out of the harbour, after which they ſtrove to outſail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina. From thence it made to Corcyra, where the army of the allies was aſſembled with the reſt of the fleet.

Being now arrived at Sicily, the generals were divided in their opinions as to the place where they ſhould make a deſcent. Lamachus, one of the generals, was for making directly for Syracuſe. He urged, that it was as yet unprovided, and under the greateſt conſternation; that an army was always moſt terrible on its approach, before the enemy had time to recollect and make danger familiar: theſe reaſons, however, were over-ruled. It was agreed to reduce the ſmaller cities firſt; when having detached ten gallies only to take a view of the ſituation and harbour of Syracuſe, they landed with the reſt of their forces, and ſurprized Catana.

In the mean time the enemies of Alcibiades had taken occaſion from his abſence, to attack him with redoubled vigour. They aggravated his miſconduct in neglecting the proper method of attack, and enforced their accuſation, by alledging, that he had profaned the myſteries of Ceres. This was ſufficient to induce the giddy multitude to recal their general; but, for fear of raiſing a tumult in the army, they only ſent him orders to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his preſence. Alcibiades

cibiades obeyed the orders with ſeeming ſubmiſſion; but reflecting on the inconſtancy and caprice of his judges, the inſtant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on ſhore, he diſappeared, and eluded the purſuit of thoſe who ſought after him: the galley, therefore, returned without him, and the people in a rage condemned him to death for his contumacy. His whole eſtate was confiſcated, and all the orders of religion were commanded to curſe him. Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to death; I hope one day, ſaid he, to make them ſenſible that I am ſtill alive.

The Syracuſans had by this time put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and finding that Nicias did not advance towards them, they talked of attacking him in his camp; and ſome of them aſked, in a ſcoffing way, Whether he was come into Sicily to ſettle at Catana? He was rouzed by this inſult, and reſolved to make the beſt of his way to Syracuſe. He durſt not attempt it by land for want of cavalry, and he thought it equally hazardous to make a deſcent by ſea upon an enemy who was ſo well prepared to receive him: however, he choſe the latter way, and ſucceeded in it by a ſtratagem. He had gained a citizen of Catana to go as a deſerter to the Syracuſans, and to inform them, that the Athenians lay every night in the town without their

their arms; and that early in the morning, on a certain day appointed, they might ſurprize them, ſeize on their camp with all their arms and baggage, burn their fleet in the harbour, and deſtroy the whole army. The Syracuſans gave credit to him, and marched with all their forces towards Catana; which Nicias had no ſooner notice of, but he embarked his troops, and ſteering away for Syracuſe, landed them there the next morning, and fortified himſelf in the outſkirts of the town. The Syracuſans were ſo provoked at this trick being put upon them, that they immediately returned to Syracuſe, and preſented themſelves without the walls in order of battle. Nicias marched out of his trenches to meet them, and a very ſharp action enſued, wherein, at length, the Athenians got the better, and forced the enemy back to the city, after having killed two hundred and ſixty of them and their confederates, with the loſs of fifty of their own men. They were not as yet in a condition to attack the city, and therefore took up their winter-quarters at Catana and Naxus.

The year following greater projects were undertaken; for having received a ſupply of horſe from Athens, with proviſions and other ſtores of war, Nicias ſet ſail for Syracuſe, in order to block it up by ſea and land. In this manner did the little ſtate of Athens ſpread terror among all the neigh-

bouring ſtates, and now riſen to its utmoſt height, began to aſpire at univerſal empire. Athens had already been the miſtreſs of arts and philoſophy, it now, with inverted ambition, aimed at ſetting mankind an example of the arts of conqueſt and of war: but they had never conſidered that a petty ſtate, raiſed artificially into power, is liable to a thouſand accidents in its way to univerſal conqueſt. They had now ſent out their whole force into Sicily, and, while they fought to decide the fate of Syracuſe, they were in fact contending for their own; the exiſtence of Athens and Syracuſe depended ſo much upon the event of the preſent invaſion, that both ſides fought with the utmoſt perſeverance, and hiſtorians have been minute in the detail.

The ſiege was now carried on in a more regular and ſkilful manner than had ever been practiſed before, and men were taught a new leſſon, as well in the arts of attack as of defence. Nicias found it neceſſary, in the firſt place, to gain Epipolæ, an high hill which commanded the city, and had a ſteep craggy paſſage up to it. The Syracuſans were ſo ſenſible of the importance of this poſt, that they had ordered a detachment of ſeven hundred men to march upon a ſignal given to the defence of it. But Nicias had landed his men in a little remote harbour ſo ſecretly and ſo ſuddenly, that they

they eaſily made themſelves maſters of it. And the ſeven hundred running up from the plains in a confuſed manner to diſpoſſeſs them, were repulſed with the loſs of three hundred of them and their leader. Nicias built a fort there, as a magazine, and proceeded to inveſt the town on the land ſide, ſo as to prevent any communication with the country. The enemy endeavouring to defeat his works, and render them uſeleſs, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued, wherein the Athenians had generally the better: but, in one of them, Lamachus being preſſed hard, and abandoned by his men, was killed. The Syracuſans being ſtill intent on the recovery of Epipolæ, ordered up another detachment thither. Nicias was at this time ſick in the fort, and in bed, with only his ſervants about him. But when he found the enemy were forcing his intrenchments, he got up and ſet fire to the engines, and other wood that lay ſcattered about the fort; which had ſo good an effect, that it ſerved as a ſignal to his own troops to come up to his relief; and ſo terrified and confounded thoſe of the enemy, that they retreated into the city. From thenceforth Nicias who was now ſole general, conceived great hopes; for ſeveral cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either ſide, came and joined him; and there arrived from all quarters veſſels laden with proviſions for his army,

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all parties being eager to go over to him, becauſe he had acquired the ſuperiority, and been exceedingly ſucceſsful in all his undertakings. The Syracuſans ſeeing themſelves blocked up both by ſea and land, and loſing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already propoſed an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their aſſiſtance, having heard in his paſſage the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole iſland as loſt, ſailed forward nevertheleſs, not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preſerve to the nations of Italy ſuch cities as were ſubject to them in that iſland, if it were not too late, and it could be done; for fame had declared, in all places, that the Athenians had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole iſland, and were headed by a general whoſe wiſdom and good fortune rendered him invincible.

The fortifications of the Athenians were now almoſt completed; they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and the fens towards the great port, and had almoſt reached it. There now remained on one ſide only a ſmall part of the wall to be finiſhed, and the Syracuſans were upon the brink of ruin; they had no hopes left; they were unable to defend themſelves, and they knew not where to look for

ſuccours; for this reaſon they reſolved to ſurrender, and a council was held to ſettle the articles of capitulation, which were to be preſented to Nicias.

It was at that very inſtant, and in this moſt diſtreſsful juncture, that a meſſenger arrived at Syracuſe from Corinth, with news of ſpeedy relief. The whole body of citizens flocked round the meſſenger of ſuch welcome information. He gave them to underſtand, that Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian general, would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other gallies which came to his aid. The Syracuſans aſtoniſhed, or rather ſtupified as it were with this news, could ſcarce believe what they heard. Whilſt they were thus fluctuating, and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach, and ordered them to march over all their troops to meet him. He himſelf, after taking a fort in his way, marched in order of battle directly for Epipolæ, and aſcending by Euryclus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, whilſt the Syracuſans ſhould charge them on their ſide with the forces of Syracuſe. The Athenians, exceedingly ſurprized by his arrival, drew up haſtily, and without order, under the wall: with regard to himſelf, laying down his arms when he approached, he ſent word by a herald, that he would

would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condeſcend to make the leaſt anſwer to this propoſal; and ſome of his ſoldiers burſting out a laughing, aſked the herald, whether the preſence of a Lacedæmonian privateer, and the trifling wand of an herald, could make any change in the preſent ſtate of the city? Both ſides, therefore, prepared for battle.

Gylippus began by ſtorming the fort of Labdalla, and cutting in pieces all who were found in it. The Athenians, in the mean time, were not idle in forming intrenchments to oppoſe him, while the beſieged were equally aſſiduous in cutting down and breaking through thoſe walls and circumvallations which were carried round their city. At length both ſides drew up their forces in order of battle, between the walls which the Athenians had raiſed to keep off the enemy. In the firſt engagement, the cavalry of Gylippus being rendered uſeleſs from the narrowneſs of the place, to re-animate his ſoldiers, by doing them juſtice, he had the courage to reproach himſelf for the ill ſucceſs they had met with, and to declare publicly, that he, not they, had occaſioned the late defeat, becauſe he had made them fight in too narrow a ſpot of ground. However he promiſed ſoon to give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his; and, accordingly, the very next

day he led them againſt the enemy, after having exhorted them in the ſtrongeſt terms to behave in a manner worthy of their ancient glory. Nicias perceiving, that though it ſhould not be his deſire to come to a battle, it would, however, be abſolutely neceſſary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their line beyond the contravallation, to which they were already very near (becauſe, otherwiſe, this would be granting them a certain victory) therefore marched boldly againſt the Syracuſans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place where the walls terminated on both ſides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle; upon which, charging the enemy's left wing with his horſe, he put it to flight, and ſoon after defeated their right. We have an inſtance of what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing; for Gylippus, with the ſame men, the ſame arms, the ſame horſes, and the ſame ground, by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night the victors carried on their wall beyond the contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to ſurround the city. Nicias had, ever ſince the arrival of Gylippus, been put upon the defenſive; and, as he daily loſt ground in the country, he retired

retired towards the ſea, to keep that open, in caſe of accidents, and to bring in proviſions. For this purpoſe he poſſeſſed himſelf of Plemmyrium, near the great harbour, where he built three forts, and kept up himſelf as it were in garriſon. Gylippus took this opportunity to gain over the inland cities; and, at the ſame time, the fleet which was expected from Corinth arrived. Nicias, under theſe circumſtances, wrote a very melancholy account of his affairs to Athens, that the enemy were become ſo ſuperior to him, that he was not in a condition to force intrenchments; and, that inſtead of beſieging them, he was now beſieged himſelf; that the towns revolted from him; the ſlaves and mercenaries deſerted; that the troops were employed in guarding the forts and fetching in proviſions; and that in this latter ſervice many of them were cut off by the enemy's horſe: that the fleet was in as bad a condition as the army; and that, in ſhort, without a ſpeedy reinforcement of men, ſhips, and money, equal to what he had at firſt ſet out with, it was in vain to attempt any thing farther. Then, as to his own particular, he complained of his being troubled with ſharp nephritic pains, which rendered him incapable of going on with the ſervice; and, therefore, preſſed to be recalled. The Athenians were ſo affected with this letter, that they named Eurymedon and

Demoſthenes to go over with freſh ſupplies; the former immediately with ten gallies, and the other early in the ſpring with a ſtronger force. At the ſame time they appointed Menander and Euthydemus to act as aſſiſtants to Nicias, but would not grant his requeſt of coming home. In the mean time, Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned with as many men as he could raiſe in the whole iſland, and prevailed with the Syracuſans to fit out the ſtrongeſt fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at ſea, upon the preſumption that the ſucceſs would anſwer the greatneſs of the enterprize. This advice was ſtrongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracuſans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the ſeas. He obſerved, that the Athenians themſelves had not received it from their anceſtors, nor been always poſſeſſed of it; that the Perſian war had in a manner forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, notwithſtanding two great obſtacles,—their diſpoſition, and the ſituation of their city, which ſtood at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea; that they had made themſelves formidable to other nations, not ſo much by their real ſtrength, as by their courage and intrepidity; that they ought to copy them; and ſince they had to do with enemies who were ſo enterpriſing, it was fit they ſhould be equally daring.

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This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land forces in the night time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five gallies of Syracuſe, which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the leſſer, where was an arſenal for ſhips, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium, to amaze the Athenians, who would find themſelves attacked both by ſea and land at the ſame time. The Athenians at this news went on board alſo, and with twenty-five ſhips ſailed to fight the thirty-five Syracuſan veſſels, which were ſailing out of the great harbour, and oppoſed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy which were come out of the little port. A ſharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour, one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Thoſe who defended the ports of Plemmyrium having flocked to the ſhore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break; and having carried the greateſt of them by ſtorm, the ſoldiers who defended the other two were ſo terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment. After this advantage the Syracuſans ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs; for ſuch of their veſſels as fought at the entrance of the harbour (after having forced the Athenians) drove furiouſly one

againſt the other, as they entered it in diſorder, and, by this means, ſhifted the victory to their enemies; who, not contented with purſuing, alſo gave chace to thoſe who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracuſan gallies were ſunk, and great numbers of the ſailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewiſe loſt three; and after towing off thoſe of the enemy, they raiſed a trophy in a little iſland lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the center of their camp.

One circumſtance which the beſieged conſidered of the greateſt importance, was to attempt a ſecond engagement both by ſea and land, before the fleet and other ſuccours ſent by the Athenians ſhould arrive. They had concerted freſh meaſures for a battle at ſea, by improving from the errors they had committed in the laſt engagement. The change made in the gallies was, that their prows were now ſhorter, and at the ſame time ſtronger and more ſolid than before. For this purpoſe they fixed great pieces of timber projecting forward on each ſide of the prows, and to theſe pieces they joined beams, by way of props. The beams extended to the length of ſix cubits on each ſide of the veſſel, both within and without. By this they hoped to gain an advantage over the gallies of the Athenians, which did not dare, becauſe of the

the weakneſs of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not to mention, that ſhould the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to ſpread themſelves, nor to paſs between two gallies, in which lay their greateſt art, nor to tack about after they ſhould have been repulſed, in order to return to the charge; whereas the Syracuſans, by their being maſters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all theſe advantages, and might reciprocally aſſiſt one another. On theſe circumſtances the latter founded their hopes of victory.

Gylippus, therefore, firſt drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city, whilſt the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their gallies ſet ſail.

Nicias did not care to venture a ſecond battle, ſaying, that as he expected a freſh fleet every moment, and a great reinforcement under Demoſthenes, it would betray the greateſt want of judgment, ſhould he, as his troops were inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it. On the contrary, Menanda and Euthydemus, who had juſt before been appointed to ſhare the command with Nicias till the arrival of Demoſthenes, fired with ambition, and jealous of thoſe generals,

generals, were eager to perform ſome great exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and if poſſible eclipſe that of the other. The pretence they alledged on this occaſion was, the fame and reputation of Athens; and they aſſerted with ſo much vehemence, that it would be entirely deſtroyed ſhould they ſhun the battle as the Syracuſans offered it them, that they at laſt forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had ſeventy-five gallies, and the Syracuſans eighty.

The firſt day the fleets continued in ſight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging, and only a few ſkirmiſhes paſſed, after which both parties retired; while the land forces acted in the ſame manner. The Syracuſans did not make the leaſt motion the ſecond day. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, cauſed the tranſports to draw up in a line at ſome diſtance from one another, in order that his gallies might retire behind them with ſafety, in caſe he ſhould be defeated. On the morrow the Syracuſans came up ſooner than uſual, when a great part of the day was ſpent in ſkirmiſhing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not ſuppoſe they would return, but imagined that fear would make them fly. But having refreſhed themſelves in great haſte, and returning on board their gallies, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them.

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The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ſhips, they entered them in great diſorder: ſo that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle, and moſt of the ſailors were faſting. Victory did not long continue in ſuſpenſe. The Athenians, after making a ſhort and ſlight reſiſtance, retired behind the line of tranſports. The enemy purſued them thither, but were ſtopped by the yards of thoſe ſhips, to which were fixed dolphins of lead; theſe being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's gallies, would have ſunk them at once. The Athenians loſt ſeven gallies in this engagement, and a great number of ſoldiers were either killed or taken priſoners.

This loſs threw Nicias into the utmoſt conſternation: all the misfortunes he had met with ever ſince the time he had enjoyed the ſupreme command, came into his mind, and he was now involved in a greater than any of them, by complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilſt he was revolving theſe gloomy ideas, Demoſthenes's fleet were ſeen coming forward in great pomp, and with ſuch an air as might fill the enemy with dread. It was now the day after the battle. This fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-three gallies, on board of which were five thouſand fighting men, and about three thouſand archers, ſlingers, and bowmen.

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All theſe gallies were richly trimmed, their prows being adorned with ſhining ſtreamers, manned with ſtout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the ſound of clarions, and trumpets; Demoſthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph purpoſely to ſtrike terror into the enemy.

This gallant fight alarmed them indeed beyond expreſſion. They did not ſee any end, or even the leaſt ſuſpenſion of their calamities. All they had hitherto done or ſuffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, ſince, though they had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica, they were however able to ſend a ſecond army into Sicily as conſiderable as the former; and that their power, as well as their courage, ſeemed, notwithſtanding all their loſſes, inſtead of diminiſhing, to increaſe daily.

Demoſthenes having made an exact enquiry, into the ſtate of things, imagined it would not be proper for him to loſe time as Nicias had done; who having ſpread an univerſal terror at his firſt arrival, became afterwards an object of contempt for his having wintered in Catana, inſtead of going directly to Syracuſe, and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it.

it. He flattered himſelf with the hopes that he ſhould be able to carry the city at the firſt attack, by taking advantage of the alarm which the news of his arrival would ſpread in every part of it, and by that means would immediately put an end to the war; otherwiſe he intended to raiſe the ſiege, and no longer harraſs and leſſen the troops by fighting battles never deciſive, nor quite exhauſt the city of Athens, by employing its treaſures in needleſs expences. †

Nicias terrified by this bold and precipitate reſolution of Demoſthenes, conjured him not to be ſo haſty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cauſe to repent of what he ſhould do. He obſerved to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their proviſions as well as money were entirely exhauſted; that their allies were going to abandon them; that they muſt ſoon be reduced to ſuch extremity for want of proviſions, as would force them to ſurrender, as they had before reſolved: for there were certain perſons in Syracuſe, who held a ſecret correſpondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, becauſe the Syracuſans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that ſhould the neceſſity to which they were reduced be ever ſo little increaſed, they would ſurrender at diſcretion.

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As Nicias did not explain himſelf clearly, and would not declare in expreſs terms that ſure and certain advices were ſent him of whatever was tranſacted in the city, his remonſtrances were conſidered as an effect of the timidity and ſlowneſs with which he had always been reproached. Such, ſaid they, are his uſual protractions, delays, diſtruſts, and fearful precaution, whereby he has deadened all the vivacity, and extinguiſhed all the ardour of the troops, in not marching them immediately againſt the enemy; but, on the contrary, by deferring to attack them till his own forces were weakened and deſpiſed. This made the reſt of the generals, and all the officers come over to Demoſthenes's opinion, and Nicias himſelf was at laſt forced to acquieſce in it.

Demoſthenes, after having attacked to no purpoſe the wall which cut the contravallation of the beſiegers, confined himſelf to the attack of Epipolæ, from a ſuppoſition, that ſhould he once be maſter of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He, therefore, took proviſions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing neceſſary for him to defend that poſt after he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of it. As there was no going up to it in the day-time undiſcovered, he marched thither in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias ſtaying behind to guard

the camp. They went up by the way of Euryelus, as before, unperceived by the centinels, attacked the firſt intrenchment, and ſtormed it, after killing part of thoſe who defended it. Demoſthenes, not ſatisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his troops from cooling, and not to delay the execution of his deſign, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, ſuſtained by Gylippus, marched under arms out of the intrenchments. Being ſeized with aſtoniſhment, which the darkneſs of the night increaſed, they were immediately repulſed, and put to flight. But, as the Athenians advanced in diſorder, to force whatever might reſiſt their arms, leſt the enemy might rally again, ſhould time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their ſurprize, they are ſtopped on a ſudden by the Bœotians, who make a vigorous ſtand, and marching againſt the Athenians with their pikes preſented, they repulſe them with great ſhouts, and make a dreadful ſlaughter. This ſpreads an univerſal terror through the reſt of the army. Thoſe who fled, either force along ſuch as were advancing to their aſſiſtance, or elſe miſtaking them for enemies, turn their arms againſt them. They now were all mixed indiſcriminately, it being impoſſible to diſcover objects in the horrors of a night, which was not ſo gloomy as entirely to make objects imperceptible, nor yet light

light enough to diſtinguiſh thoſe which were ſeen. The Athenians ſought for one another to no purpoſe, and from their often aſking the word, by which only they were able to know one another, a ſtrange confuſion of ſounds was heard, which occaſioned no little diſorder; not to mention, that they by this means divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; becauſe, by their being together, and in a body, they had no occaſion to repeat it. In the mean time, thoſe who were purſued threw themſelves from the top of the rocks, and many were daſhed to pieces by the fall; and as moſt of thoſe who eſcaped, ſtraggled from one another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horſe, who purſued them. Two thouſand Athenians were ſlain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; thoſe who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to eſcape over the precipices. Soon after Gylippus, having made the tour of Sicily, brought a great number of troops with him, which rendered the affairs of Athens ſtill more deſperate, and deprived Nicias of all hopes of ſucceſs; beſides, the Athenian army now began to diminiſh exceedingly by ſickneſs, and nothing was ſeen to remain but their quitting an iſland, in which they had experienced every mortification. Nicias no

no longer oppoſed the reſolution, and only deſired to have it kept ſecret. Orders were, therefore, given as privately as poſſible, for the fleet to prepare for ſetting ſail with the utmoſt expedition.

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to ſet ſail (wholly unſuſpected by the enemy, who were far from ſurmiſing they would leave Sicily ſo ſoon) the moon was ſuddenly eclipſed in the middle of the night, and loſt all its ſplendor, which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who from ignorance and ſuperſtition, were aſtoniſhed at ſo ſudden a change, the cauſes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the conſequences of it. They then conſulted the ſoothſayers, who, being equally unacquainted with the reaſons of this phænomenon, only augmented their conſternation. It was the cuſtom, after ſuch accidents had happened, to ſuſpend their enterprize but for three days. The ſoothſayers pronounced, that he muſt not ſail till nine times three days were paſt, (theſe were Thucydides' words) which doubtleſs was a myſterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias, ſcrupulous to a fault, and full of a miſtaken veneration for thoſe blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the ſame day of the next month, as if he had not ſeen the planet very clearly, the

inſtant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interpoſition of the earth's body.

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians ſoon ſpread over the city; a reſolution was taken to attack the beſiegers both by ſea and land. The Syracuſans began the firſt day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a ſlight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a ſecond attack, and, at the ſame time, ſailed with ſeventy-ſix gallies againſt eighty-ſix of the Athenian. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having ſpread along the ſhore to ſurround them, this movement proved fatal to him; for, as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracuſans, after forcing the main battle, which was in the center, attacked him, drove him vigorouſly into the gulph called Daſcon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon loſt his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chace to the reſt of the gallies, and run them againſt the ſhore. Gylippus, who commanded the land army, ſeeing the Athenian gallies were forced a-ground, and not able to return into the ſtoccado, landed with part of his troops, in order to charge the ſoldiers, in caſe they ſhould be forced to run aſhore, and give his friends the more room to tow ſuch gallies as they ſhould have taken; however, he was repulſed by

by the Tyrrhenians, who were poſted on that ſide, and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to ſuſtain them, to retire with ſome loſs, as far as a moor which lay near it. The latter ſaved moſt of their ſhips, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracuſans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, reſolving to burn the reſt, they filled an old veſſel with combuſtible materials, and having ſet fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind againſt the Athenians, who nevertheleſs extinguiſhed the fire, and drove off that ſhip; each ſide erected trophies, the Syracuſans for the death of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before, and the Athenians for their having driven part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently diſpoſed; the Syracuſans, who had been thrown into the utmoſt conſternation at the arrival of Demoſthenes with his fleet, ſeeing themſelves victorious in a naval engagement, reſumed freſh hope, and aſſured themſelves of a complete victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, fruſtrated of their only reſource, and overcome at ſea, ſo contrary to their expectations, entirely loſt courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

The enemy, to deprive them of all reſource, and prevent their eſcaping, ſhut the mouth of the

great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with gallies placed croſs-wiſe, and other veſſels, fixed with anchors and iron chains, and, at the ſame time, made the requiſite preparations for a battle, in caſe they ſhould have courage to engage again. When the Athenians ſaw themſelves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers aſſembled, in order to deliberate on the preſent ſtate of affairs. They were in abſolute want of proviſions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire, and they could not procure any from other places unleſs they were maſters of the ſea; this made them reſolve to venture a ſea-fight. In this view they were determined to leave their old camp and their walls, and to entrench themſelves on the ſhore near their ſhips, in the ſmalleſt compaſs poſſible; their deſign was to leave ſome forces in that place to guard their baggage and the ſick, and to fight with the reſt aboard all the ſhips they ſhould have ſaved. They intended to retire into Catana in caſe they ſhould be victorious, otherwiſe to ſet fire to their ſhips, and to march by land to the neareſt city belonging to their allies.

This reſolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled an hundred and ten gallies (the others having loſt their oars) with the flower of his infantry,

and drew up the reſt of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on the ſhore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracuſan gallies, Nicias had provided harping-irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to cloſe fight as on ſhore. But the enemy perceiving this, covered the prows and upper part of their gallies with leather, to prevent their being ſo eaſily laid hold of. The commanders on both ſides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men, and none could ever have been prompted with ſtronger motives, for the battle which was going to be fought was to determine not only their lives and liberties, but alſo the fate of their country.

This battle was very obſtinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, eaſily took thoſe ſhips which defended the entrance of it; but when they attempted to break the chain of the reſt, to widen the paſſage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred gallies came ruſhing on each ſide in a narrow place, there muſt neceſſarily be a very great confuſion, and the veſſels could no eaſily advance forward, or retire, or turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the gallies, for this reaſon, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent diſcharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed

with a ſhower of ſtones, which always did execution from what place ſoever they were thrown; whereas they defended themſelves by only ſhooting darts and arrows, which by the motion of the ſhips, from the agitation of the ſea, did not carry true, and by that means the greateſt part of them did little execution. Ariſton, the pilot, had given the Syracuſans this counſel. Theſe diſcharges being over, the ſoldiers heavily armed attempted to enter the enemy's ſhips, in order to fight hand to hand; and it often happened, that whilſt they were climbing up one ſide, their own ſhips were entered on the other, and two or three ſhips were grappled to one, which occaſioned a great perplexity and confuſion. Farther, the noiſe of the ſhips that daſhed one againſt the other, the different cries of the victors and vanquiſhed, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a paſſage, whatever might be the conſequence, to ſecure their return into their own country; and this the enemy employed their utmoſt efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more compleat and more glorious victory. The two land armies, which were drawn up on the higheſt part of the ſhore, and the inhabitants of the city who were there, ran to the walls, whilſt the reſt kneeling in the temples, were imploring heaven to give ſucceſs to their fellow-citizens; all

theſe

theſe ſaw clearly, becauſe of their little diſtance from the fleets, every thing that paſſed, and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror. Attentive to, and ſhuddering at every movement, and the ſeveral changes which happened, they diſcovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different geſtures; ſtretching out their hands ſometimes towards the combatants to animate them, at other times towards heaven, to implore the ſuccour and protection of the gods. At laſt the Athenian fleet, after ſuſtaining a long battle and a vigorous reſiſtance, was put to flight, and drove againſt the ſhore. The Syracuſans, who were ſpectators of this victory, conveyed the news to the whole city by an univerſal ſhout. The victors, now maſters of the ſea, and ſailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuſe, erected a trophy, whilſt the Athenians, who were quite dejected and overpowered, did not ſo much as requeſt that their dead ſoldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the laſt ſad duty to their remains.

There now remained but two methods for them to chuſe, either to attempt the paſſage a ſecond time, for which they had ſhips and ſoldiers ſufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. Demoſthenes propoſed the former;

mer; but the ſailors, in the deepeſt affliction, refuſed to obey, fully perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain a ſecond engagement. The ſecond method was, therefore, reſolved upon; and accordingly they prepared to ſet out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who ſuſpected their deſign, was very ſenſible that it was of the utmoſt importance not to ſuffer ſo great a body of forces to eſcape, ſince they otherwiſe might fortify themſelves in ſome corner of the iſland, and renew the war. The Syracuſans were at that time in the midſt of their feſtivity and rejoicings, and meditating nothing but how they might divert themſelves after the toils they had ſuſtained in fight. They were then ſolemnizing the feſtival of Hercules. To deſire the Syracuſans to take up arms again in order to purſue the enemy, and to attempt to draw them from their diverſions, either by force or perſuaſion, would have been to no purpoſe; for which reaſon, another expedient was employed. Hermocrates ſent out a few horſemen, who were to paſs for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud, Tell Nicias not to retire till day-light, for the Syracuſans lie in ambuſh for him, and have ſeized on their paſſes. This falſe advice ſtopped Nicias at once, and he did not

even

even ſet out the next day, in order that the ſoldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure, and carry off whatever might be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and abandon the reſt.

The enemy had time enough for ſeizing the avenues. The next morning early they poſſeſſed themſelves of the moſt difficult paſſes, fortified thoſe places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and ſpread detachments of horſe up and down the plain, ſo that there was not one place which the Athenians could paſs without fighting. They ſet out upon their march the third day after the battle, with a deſign to retire to Catana. The whole army was in an inexpreſſible conſternation, to ſee ſuch a great number of men either dead, or dying, ſome of whom were left expoſed to wild beaſts, and the reſt to the cruelty of the enemy. Thoſe who were ſick and wounded conjured them, with tears, to take them along with the army, and held by their clothes when they were going, or elſe, crawling after them, followed them as far as their ſtrength would permit; and when this failed, had recourſe to tears, ſighs, imprecations, and ſending up toward heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods as well as men, to avenge their cruelty, whilſt every place echoed with lamentations.

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The whole army was in a deplorable condition. All the Athenians were ſeized with the deepeſt melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguiſh, when they repreſented to themſelves the greatneſs from which they were fallen, the extreme miſery to which they were reduced, and the ſtill greater evils from which they foreſaw it would be impoſſible for them to eſcape. They could not bare the compariſon for ever preſent in their thoughts, of the triumphant ſtate in which they had left Athens, in the midſt of the good wiſhes and acclamations of the people, with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

But the moſt melancholy part of the ſpectacle, and that which moſt deſerved compaſſion, was Nicias; dejected and worn out by a tedious illneſs, deprived of the moſt neceſſary comforts, at a time when his age and infirmities required them moſt, pierced not only with his private grief, but with that of others, all which preyed upon his mind. However, this great man, ſuperior to all his evils, thought of nothing but how he might beſt comfort his ſoldiers, and revive their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that their ſituation was not yet deſperate, and that other armies had eſcaped from greater dangers; that they ought not to accuſe themſelves, or grieve

too

too immoderately for misfortunes which they had not occaſioned; that if they had offended ſome god, his vengeance muſt be ſatiated by this time; that fortune, after having ſo long favoured the enemy, would at laſt be tired of perſecuting them; that their bravery and their numbers made them ſtill formidable (being ſtill near forty thouſand ſtrong); that no city in Sicily would be able to withſtand them, nor prevent their ſettling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do but to take care ſeverally of themſelves, and march in good order; that by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only reſource, they would not only ſave themſelves, but alſo their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx, the firſt being commanded by Nicias, and the ſecond by Demoſthenes, with the baggage in the center. Being come to the river Anapis, they forced their paſſage and afterwards were charged by the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who diſcharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during ſeveral days march, every one of the paſſes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to diſpute every inch of their way. The enemy did not care to hazard a battle againſt an army which

which deſpair alone might render invincible; and the inſtant the Athenians preſented the Syracuſans battle, the latter retired; but whenever the former proceeded in their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

Demoſthenes and Nicias ſeeing the miſerable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of proviſions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it adviſeable to retire towards the ſea, by a quite contrary way from that in which they then marched, and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, inſtead of proceeding to Catana, as they firſt intended. They ſet out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confuſion and diſorder, as generally happens to great armies in the gloomy horrors of the night, eſpecially when the enemy is not far off. However, the van guard commanded by Nicias went forward in good order, but above half the rear guard, with Demoſthenes at their head, quitted from the main body, and loſt their way. On the the next day the Syracuſans, who, on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmoſt diligence, came up with Demoſthenes about noon, and having ſurrounded him with their horſe, drove him into a narrow place incloſed with a wall, where his ſoldiers fought like lions. Perceiving at the cloſe of day, that they were

oppreſſed

oppreſſed with fatigue, and covered with wounds, the conquering Syracuſans gave the iſlanders leave to retire, which ſome of them accepted, and they afterwards ſpared the lives of the reſt who ſurrendered at diſcretion, with Demoſthenes, after having ſtipulated that they ſhould not be put to death, nor ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment. About ſix thouſand ſoldiers ſurrendered on theſe conditions.

Nicias arrived the ſame evening at the river Erineus, and paſſing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and ſummoned him to ſurrender at diſcretion, as Demoſthenes had done. Nicias could not perſuade himſelf at firſt that what they told him concerning Demoſthenes was true, and therefore, deſired leave to ſend ſome horſe for information. Upon their returning with the news that Demoſthenes had really ſurrendered in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expences of the war, upon condition they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hoſtages as they ſhould be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this propoſal with diſdain and inſolence, and renewed the attack. Nicias, though in abſolute want of all things, however ſuſtained the charge the whole night, and marched towards the river Aſinarus. When they

were

were got to the banks of it, the Syracuſans advancing up to them, threw moſt of them into the ſtream, the reſt already having plunged voluntarily into it, to quench their thirſt. Here the greateſt and moſt bloody havock was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the leaſt pity, as they were drinking. Nicias, finding all loſt, and unable to bear this diſmal ſpectacle, ſurrendered at diſcretion; upon condition that Gylippus ſhould diſcontinue the fight, and ſpare the reſt of his army. A great number were killed, and more taken priſoners, ſo that all Sicily was filled with them. The Athenians ſeemed to have been diſpleaſed with their general for ſurrendering in this manner at diſcretion; and, for this reaſon, his name was omitted in a public monument, on which was engraved the names of thoſe commanders who had loſt their lives in fighting for their country.

The victors adorned with the arms taken from the priſoners the fineſt and largeſt trees they could find on the banks of the rivers, and made a kind of trophies of thoſe trees, when crowning themſelves with chaplets of flowers, dreſſing their horſes in the richeſt capariſons, and cropping thoſe of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuſe, after having happily terminated the moſt conſiderable war in which they had ever been en-

gaged with the Greeks, and won by their ſtrength and valour a moſt ſignal and complete victory.

The next day a council was held, to deliberate on what was to be done with the priſoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of greateſt authority among the people, propoſed, that all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all ſuch Sicilians as had joined with them, ſhould be impriſoned, and only two meaſures of flour and one of water given them daily; that the ſlaves and all the allies ſhould be publicly ſold; and that the two Athenian generals ſhould be firſt ſcourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

This laſt article was exceedingly diſliked by all wiſe and compaſſionate Syracuſans. Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and juſtice, attempted to make ſome remonſtrances to the people, but they would not hear him, and the ſhouts which echoed on all ſides prevented him from continuing his ſpeech. At that inſtant an ancient man venerable for his great age and gravity, who in this war had loſt two ſons, the only heirs to his name and eſtate, made his ſervants carry him to the tribunal for harangues, and the inſtant he appeared a profound ſilence was made. "You here behold," ſays he, "an unfortunate father, who has felt more than any other Syracuſan the fatal effects of this war, by the death of two ſons, who formed

formed all the conſolation, and were the only ſupports of my old age. I cannot, indeed, forbear admiring their courage and felicity, in ſacrificing to their country's welfare a life, of which they would one day have been deprived by the common courſe of nature: but then I cannot but be ſtrongly affected with the cruel wound which their death had made in my heart, nor forbear hating and deteſting the Athenians, the authors of this unhappy war, as the murderers of my children; but, however, I cannot conceal one circumſtance, which is, that I am leſs ſenſible of my private affliction than that of the honour of my country, and I ſee it expoſed to eternal infamy by the barbarous advice which is now given you. The Athenians, indeed, merit the worſt treatment, and every kind of puniſhment that can be inflicted on them, for ſo unjuſtly declaring war againſt us; but have not the gods, the juſt avengers of crimes, puniſhed them, and revenged us ſufficiently? When their general laid down his arms and ſurrendered, did he not do this in the hopes of having their lives ſpared? and if we put them to death, will it be poſſible for us to avoid the juſt reproach of our having violated the law of nations, and diſhonoured our victory by an unheard of cruelty? How will you ſuffer your glory to be thus ſullied in the face of the whole world, and have it ſaid, that a nation who firſt dedicated

dicated a temple in this city to clemency, had not found any in your's? Surely victories and triumphs do not give immortal glory to a city; but the exerciſing mercy towards a vanquiſhed enemy, the uſing moderation in the greateſt proſperity, and fearing to offend the gods by a haughty and inſolent pride, will ever enſure it. You doubtleſs have not forgot that this Nicias, whoſe fate you are going to pronounce, was the man who pleaded your cauſe in the aſſembly of the Athenians, and employed all his credit, and the whole power of his eloquence, to diſſuade his country from embarking in this war; ſhould you, therefore, pronounce ſentence of death on this worthy general, would it be a juſt reward for the zeal he ſhewed for your intereſt? With regard to myſelf, death would be leſs grievous to me than the ſight of ſo horrid an injuſtice committed by my countrymen and fellow citizens."

The people ſeemed moved with compaſſion at this ſpeech, eſpecially when this venerable old man firſt aſcended. They expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on thoſe who had brought all theſe calamities upon him, inſtead of ſuing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians expatiated with vehemence on the unheard-of cruelties which their republic had exerciſed on ſeveral cities belonging to their enemies, and even to their

ancient allies; the inveteracy which the commanders had ſhewn againſt Syracuſe, and the evils they would have made it ſuffer had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans of infinite numbers of Syracuſans, who bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whoſe manes could be appeaſed by no other way than by the blood of their murderers. Theſe repreſentations prevailed, and the people returned to their ſanguinary reſolution, and followed Diocles's advice in every reſpect. Gylippus uſed his utmoſt endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demoſthenes given up to him, (eſpecially as he had taken them) in order for him to carry them to Lacedæmon; but his demand was rejected with a haughty ſcorn, and the two generals were put to death.

No wiſe and compaſſionate man could forbear ſhedding tears at the tragical fate of two ſuch illuſtrious perſonages, and particularly for Nicias; who, of all men of his time, ſeemed leaſt to merit ſo ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the ſpeeches and remonſtrances he had made to prevent the war; and on the other ſide, when they conſidered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion, the greateſt part of them were tempted to exclaim againſt providence, in ſeeing that a man, who had ever ſhewn the higheſt reverence for the gods, and

had always exerted himſelf to the utmoſt for their honour and worſhip, ſhould be ſo ill rewarded by them, and meet with no better fate than the moſt abandoned wretches.

Nicias muſt be regarded by poſterity as a good, rather than a great man. He was humane and benevolent. He wanted not for wiſdom and diſcernment; and no man ever poſſeſſed more of the true *amor patriæ*. But then he was too timid for the ſervices in which he was ſometimes employed; and, upon all occaſions, too diffident of his own abilities. Theſe qualities in him, however, were not without their advantages; for while they ſubjected him to the mortification of ſeeing his counſels rejected, himſelf ſent out on duty which did not ſuit his inclination, or his operations in the field leſs acceptable than they might otherwiſe have been, they procured him the eſteem of the people, by the appearance of moderation, and of reſpect for their privileges, which they always bore; and the confidence of the ſoldiery, by thoſe ideas of caution, or of ſtratagem, or even piety towards the gods, which they were always ready to affix to them. It was of no ſmall ſervice to the character of Nicias, that he was called upon to act in concert with Cleon and Alcibiades. The fire and impetuoſity of theſe men required to be tempered by the coolneſs and deliberation of their

colleague; and every reflection on the contraſt which their diſpoſitions made, tends to enhance our good opinion of Nicias. Nicias is ſaid always to have given good advice, and always to have fought well. From thence one would think that he merits a higher title than we ſeem willing to allow him; and ſo he would, had the promptitude of his deſigns kept pace with the ſincerity of his intentions, or even with the vigour of his execution. The unhappy event of his laſt exertions in Sicily was owing to a variety of cauſes. Many of his fellow citizens ſtrove, through envy, to ruin his reputation: his indifferent ſtate of health admitted not of the unremitting vigilance and application which the Athenian affairs in that iſland demanded; and infectious diſeaſes, and wounds, and death, had rendered the greateſt efforts of his troops feeble and ineffectual. Nicias was a rich man: a ſilver mine, which he had in his eſtate at Laurium, furniſhed him with the means of diſplaying his magnificence in public ſhows and donations. This gained over to him many that were diſaffected to his meaſures, and ſecured the good opinion of thoſe who approved of them.

Demoſthenes was a brave, intrepid officer, and by no means defective in military tactics. There was no contemporary of his more likely to preſerve the honour of the Athenian name than he: but the

the misery was, that the affairs of Syracuse were become desperate before he entered upon the expedition. His name was long had in estimation at Athens. Demosthenes, the orator, many years after the discomfiture we have related, valued himself upon being of the same family with Demosthenes who fell at Syracuse.

The prisoners were shut up in the prisons of Syracuse, where, crowded one upon the other, they suffered incredible torment for eight months. Here they were for ever exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; scorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the sun, or frozen in the night by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrement, by the carcases of those who died of their wounds and of sickness, and worn out by hunger and thirst, for the daily allowance to each was but a small measure of water and two of meal. Those who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be sold as slaves, many of whom were citizens who had concealed their condition, found a less rigorous fate. Their wisdom, their patience, and a certain air of probity and modesty, were of great advantage to them; for they were soon restored to their liberty, or met with the kindest and most generous treatment from their masters. Several of them even owed the good usage they met with to Eu-

ripides, the fineſt ſcenes of whoſe tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them: ſo that when they returned to their own country, they went and ſaluted that poet as their deliverer, and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour by his verſes.

The news of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens at firſt would not believe it, and were ſo far from giving credit to the report, that they ſentenced that man to death who firſt publiſhed the tidings; but when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation; and, as if themſelves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and reſentment againſt the orators who had promoted the enterprize, as well as againſt the ſoothſayers, who, by their ſuppoſed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of ſucceſs. They had never been reduced to ſo deplorable a condition as now, having neither horſe, foot, money, gallies, nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepeſt deſpair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elate with ſo great a victory, and ſtrengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens both by ſea and land with all the forces of Peloponneſus. Cicero had reaſon to obſerve, ſpeaking of the battles in the harbour of Syracuſe, that it was there the troops of Athens, as well as their gallies, were ruined

ruined and ſunk; and that in this harbour the power and glory of the Athenians were miſerably ſhipwrecked.

The Athenians, however, did not ſuffer themſelves to be wholly dejected, but reſumed courage. They now reſolved to raiſe money on all ſides, and to import timber for building of ſhips, in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the iſland of Eubœa. They retrenched all ſuperfluous expences, and eſtabliſhed a new council of ancient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they ſhould be propoſed to the people. In fine, they omitted nothing which might be of ſervice in the preſent conjuncture; the alarm which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the neceſſities of the ſtate, and ſedulous to all advice that might promote its intereſt.

Such was the event of the ſiege of Syracuſe, the failure of which deſtroyed the power of thoſe that had undertaken it. We have hitherto ſeen Athens riſing in arts and arms, giving leſſons both in politeneſs, humanity, philoſophy, and war, to all the nations round, and beginning to fix an empire, which, if once eſtabliſhed, no neighbouring power could overthrow. But their ambition grew faſter than their abilities, and their views extending beyond their capacity to execute them, they fell at

once from that height to which, for ages, they had been aſſiduouſly aſpiring. We are now, therefore, to be preſented with a different picture; we are no longer to view this little ſtate panting for conqueſts over other nations, but timorouſly defending itſelf at home; we are no longer to view Athens taking the lead in the councils, and conducting the confederated armies of Greece: they now become in a meaſure annihilated; they fade from the eye of the hiſtorian; and other nations, whoſe names have hitherto been ſcarcely mentioned, emerge from obſcurity. The raſhneſs of this enterprize was ſeverely puniſhed in the loſs of their beſt generals, fleets, and armies; all now was deſtroyed, or left at the mercy of thoſe whom they had ſo unſeaſonably undertaken to ſubdue.

Their allies began now to think of throwing off their yoke; and even thoſe who had ſtood neuter, took this occaſion to declare againſt them. But the Lacedæmonians being more particularly elevated, reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour, and the winter was ſpent in preparations on both ſides. The Athenians, in their preſent diſtreſs, ſcarce knew where to turn; many of their allied cities revolted, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that, by placing their forces and fleets at Samos, they reduced ſuch ſtates as had abandoned them to their former obedience, and kept the reſt to their

duty: thus ſtill ſtruggling with a part of their former ſpirit, they kept themſelves in a condition to make head againſt their enemies, over whom they had obtained ſeveral advantages.

Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that paſſed among the Athenians, ſent ſecretly to the principal of them at Samos, to ſound their ſentiments, and to let them know that he was not averſe from returning to Athens, provided the adminiſtration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, with a deſign to concert with him the proper meaſures for the ſucceſs of that undertaking. He promiſed to procure the Athenians not only the favour of Tiſſaphernes, the king of Perſia's lieutenant, with whom he had taken refuge, but of the king himſelf, upon condition they would aboliſh the democracy, or popular government: becauſe the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon thoſe of the inconſtant and capricious multitude. The chief man who oppoſed his return was Phrynicus, one of the generals, who, to compaſs his deſigns, ſent word to Aſtyochus, the Lacedæmonian general, that Alcibiades was treating with Tiſſaphernes, to bring him over to the Athenian intereſt. He offered farther, to betray to him

him the whole army and navy of the Athenians. But his treaſonable practices being all detected by the good underſtanding betwixt Alcibiades and Aſtyochus, he was ſtript of his office, and afterwards ſtabbed in the market-place.

In the mean time, the Athenians went eagerly forward to complete that change of government which had been propoſed to them by Alcibiades; the democracy began to be aboliſhed in ſeveral cities of Athens, and ſoon after the ſcheme was carried boldly forward by Pyſander, who was chiefly concerned in this tranſaction. To give a new form to this government, he cauſed ten commiſſaries, with abſolute power, to be appointed, who were, however, at a certain fixed time, to give the people an account of what they had done. At the expiration of that term, the general aſſembly was ſummoned, wherein their firſt reſolution was, that every one ſhould be admitted to make ſuch propoſals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accuſation, or conſequent penalty, for infringing the law. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council ſhould be formed, with full power to adminiſter the public affairs, and to elect new magiſtrates. For this purpoſe, five preſidents were eſtabliſhed, who nominated one hundred perſons, including themſelves. Each of theſe choſe and aſſociated three more at his own

own pleaſure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an abſolute power was lodged. But to amuſe the people, and to conſole them with a ſhadow of popular government, whilſt they inſtituted a real oligarchy, it was ſaid that the four hundred ſhould call a council of five thouſand citizens to aſſiſt them, whenever they ſhould judge it neceſſary. The council and aſſemblies of the people were held as uſual; nothing was done, however, but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almoſt an hundred years, after having aboliſhed the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides.

This decree being paſſed without oppoſition, after the ſeparation of the aſſembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by an hundred and twenty young men, whom they made uſe of when any execution required it, entered the ſenate, and compelled the ſenators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magiſtrates out of their own body, obſerving the uſual ceremonies upon ſuch occaſions. They did not think proper to recall thoſe who were baniſhed, leſt they ſhould authorize the return of Alcibiades, whoſe uncontroulable ſpirit they dreaded, and who would ſoon have made himſelf maſter of the people. Abuſing their

their power in a tyrannical manner, they put ſome to death, others they baniſhed, and confiſcated their eſtates with impunity. All who ventured to oppoſe this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon falſe pretexts, and thoſe were intimidated who demanded juſtice of the murderers. The four hundred, ſoon after their eſtabliſhment, ſent ten deputies to Samos, for the army's concurrence to their eſtabliſhment.

The army, in the mean time, which was at Samos, proteſted againſt thoſe proceedings in the city; and, at the perſuaſion of Thraſybulus, recalled Alcibiades, and created him general, with full power to ſail directly to the Pyræus, and cruſh this new tyranny. Alcibiades, however, would not give way to this raſh opinion, but went firſt to ſhew himſelf to Tiſſaphernes, and let him know, that it was now in his power to treat with him as a friend or an enemy. By which means he awed the Athenians with Tiſſaphernes, and Tiſſaphernes with the Athenians. When, afterwards, the four hundred ſent to Samos to vindicate their proceedings, the army was for putting the meſſengers to death, and perſiſted in the deſign upon the Pyræus; but Alcibiades, by oppoſing it, manifeſtly ſaved the commonwealth.

In the mean while, the innovation in Athens had occaſioned ſuch factions and tumults, that the four

four hundred were more intent upon providing for their ſafety, than proſecuting the war. In order to which, they fortified that part of the Pyræus which commands the mouth of the haven, and reſolved, in caſe of extremity, rather to let in the Lacedæmonians, than expoſe their perſons to the fury of their fellow-citizens. The Spartans took occaſion from theſe diſturbances, to hover about with forty-two gallies, under the conduct of Hegeſandrides; and the Athenians, with thirty-ſix under Timochares, were forced to engage them, but loſt part of their fleet, and the reſt were diſperſed. To add to which, all Eubœa, except Oreus, revolted to the Peloponneſians.

This failure of ſucceſs ſerved to give the finiſhing blow to the power of the four hundred. The Athenians without delay depoſed them, as the authors of all their troubles and diviſions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by unanimous conſent, and earneſtly ſolicited to make all poſſible haſte to the aſſiſtance of the city. But judging that if he returned immediately to Athens, he ſhould owe his recall to the compaſſion and favour of the people, he reſolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deſerve it by ſome conſiderable exploit. For this purpoſe, leaving Samos with a ſmall number of ſhips, he cruized about the iſlands of Cos and Cnidos, and having learnt

learnt that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was ſailed to the Helleſpont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in purſuit of him, he ſteered that way with the utmoſt diligence to ſupport them, and arrived happily with his eighteen veſſels at the time the fleets were engaged near Abydos, in a battle which laſted till night, without any advantage on either ſide. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at firſt, who believed him ſtill their friend, and diſpirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades hanging out the Athenian flag in the Admiral's galley, fell upon them, and put them to flight; and, animated by his ſucceſs, ſunk their veſſels, and made a great ſlaughter of their ſoldiers, who had thrown themſelves into the ſea, to ſave themſelves by ſwimming. The Athenians, after having taken thirty of their gallies, and retaken thoſe they had loſt, erected a trophy.

Alcibiades after this victory went to viſit Tiſſaphernes, who was ſo far from receiving them as he expected, that he immediately cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſent away priſoner to Sardis, telling him, that he had orders from the king to make war upon the Athenians; but the truth is, he was afraid of being accuſed to his maſter by the Peloponneſians, and thought, by this act of injuſtice, to purge himſelf from all former imputations. Alcibiades, after thirty days, made his eſcape to Clazomenæ,

zomenæ, and ſoon after bore down upon the Peloponneſian fleet, which rode at anchor before the port of Cyzicus. With twenty of his beſt ſhips he broke through the enemy, purſued thoſe who abandoned their ſhips and fled to land, and made a great ſlaughter. The Athenians took all the enemy's ſhips, made themſelves maſters of Cyzicus, while Mingimis, the Lacedæmonian general, was found among the number of the ſlain.

Alcibiades well knew how to make uſe of the victory he had gained; and, at the head of his conquering forces, took ſeveral cities which had revolted from the Athenians. Calcedon, Salymbria, and Byzantium, were among the number. Thus fluſhed with conqueſt, he ſeemed to deſire nothing ſo ardently as to be once more ſeen by his countrymen, as his preſence would be a triumph to his friends, and an inſult to his enemies. Accordingly, being recalled, he ſet ſail for Athens. Beſides the ſhips covered with bucklers and ſpoils of all ſorts, in the manner of trophies, a great number of veſſels were alſo towed after him by way of triumph; he diſplayed alſo the enſigns and ornaments of thoſe he had burnt, which were more than the others, the whole amounting to about two hundred ſhips. It is ſaid, that reflecting on what had been done againſt him, upon approaching the port, he was ſtruck with ſome terror, and

was

was afraid to quit his veſſel, till he ſaw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the ſhore to receive him, and earneſtly entreated him to land. As ſoon as he was landed, the multitude who came out to meet him, fixed their eyes on him, thronged about him, ſaluted him with loud acclamations, and crowned him with garlands. He received their congratulations with great ſatisfaction; he deſired to be diſcharged from his former condemnation, and obtained from the prieſts an abſolution from all their former denunciations.

Yet, notwithſtanding theſe triumphs, the real power of Athens was now no more, the ſtrength of the ſtate was gone, and even the paſſion for liberty was loſt in the common degeneracy of the times; many of the meaner ſort of people paſſionately deſired that Alcibiades would take the ſovereignty upon him, they even deſired him to ſet himſelf above the reach of envy, by ſecuring all power in his own perſon; the great, however, were not ſo warm in their gratitude, they were content with appointing him generaliſſimo of all their forces; they granted him whatever he demanded, and gave him for colleagues the generals moſt agreeable to him. He ſet ſail accordingly, with an hundred ſhips, and ſteered for the iſland of Andros that had revolted, where, having defeated the

the inhabitants, he went from thence to Samos, intending to make that the ſeat of war. In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, juſtly alarmed at his ſucceſs, made choice of a general, ſuppoſed to be capable of making head againſt him; for this reaſon they fixed upon Lyſander, who, though born of the higheſt family, had been bred up to hardſhips, and paid an entire reſpect to the diſcipline and manners of his country. He was brave and aſpiring, and, like his countrymen, ſacrificed all ſorts of pleaſure to his ambition. He had an evenneſs and ſedateneſs of temper, which made all conditions of life ſit eaſy upon him; but withal was extremely inſinuating, crafty, and deſigning, and made his intereſt the only meaſure of truth and falſehood. This deceitful temper was obſerved to run through the whole courſe of his life; upon which occaſion it was ſaid, that he cheated children with foul play, and men with perjury: and it was a maxim of his own, that when the lion fails we muſt make uſe of the fox.

Lyſander having brought his army to Epheſus, gave orders for aſſembling ſhips of burden from all parts, and erected an arſenal for building of gallies: he made the ports free for merchants, gave the public places to artificers, put all arts in motion, and, by theſe means, filled the city with riches, and laid the foundation of that magnificence

which ſhe afterwards attained. Whilſt he was making theſe diſpoſitions, he received advice that Cyrus, the Perſian prince, was arrived at Sardis; he therefore ſet out from Epheſus to make him a viſit, and to complain of Tiſſaphernes, whoſe duplicity and treachery had been fatal to their common cauſe. Cyrus, who had a perſonal enmity to that general, came into the views of Lyſander, agreed to encreaſe the ſeamen's pay, and to give him all the aſſiſtance in their power.

This largeſs filled the whole fleet with ardour and alacrity, and almoſt unmanned the enemy's gallies, the greateſt part of the mariners deſerting to the party where the pay was beſt. The Athenians, in deſpair upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interpoſition of Tiſſaphernes; but he would not hearken to them, notwithſtanding the ſatrap repreſented, that it was not for the king's intereſt to aggrandize the Lacedæmonians, but to balance the power of one ſide with that of the other, in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own diviſions.

Alcibiades, on the other hand, having occaſion to leave the fleet, in order to raiſe the ſupplies, gave the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with expreſs command not to engage or attack the enemy in his abſence. Antiochus, however, was willing to do ſome action that might procure him fa-

vour, without a partner in the glory: he was ſo far, therefore, from obſerving the orders that were given him, that he preſently ſailed away for Epheſus; and, at the very mouth of the harbour, uſed every art to provoke the enemy to an engagement. Lyſander at firſt manned out a few ſhips to repel his inſults: but as the Athenian ſhips advanced to ſupport Antiochus, other gallies belonging to the Lacedæmonians alſo came on, till both fleets arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both ſides. Lyſander at length was victorious; Antiochus was ſlain, and fifteen Athenian gallies were taken. It was in vain that Alcibiades ſoon after came up to the relief of his friends; it was in vain that he offered to renew the combat; Lyſander, content with the victory he had gained, was unwilling to truſt to fortune.

The fickle multitude of Athens again, therefore, began to accuſe Alcibiades of incapability. He who was juſt before reſpected even to adoration, was now diſcarded upon a groundleſs ſuſpicion, that he had not done his duty. But it was the glory he had obtained by his paſt ſervices that now ruined him; for his continual ſucceſs had begot in the people ſuch an high opinion of him, that they thought it impoſſible for him to fail in any thing he undertook, and from thence his enemies took occaſion to queſtion his integrity, and

to impute to him both his own and other miſcarriages. Callicratidas was appointed to ſucceed Lyſander, whoſe year was expired: alike ſevere to himſelf and others, inacceſſible to flattery and ſloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modeſty, temperance, and auſterity of the ancient Spartans; virtues that began to diſtinguiſh him particularly, as they were not very common in his time. His probity and juſtice were proof againſt all attacks; his ſimplicity and integrity abhorred all falſhood and fraud. To theſe virtues were joined a truly Spartan nobleneſs and grandeur of ſoul. The firſt attempt of the new admiral was againſt Methymna, in Leſbos, which he took by ſtorm. He then threatened Conon, who was appointed general of the Athenians, that he would make him leave *debauching* the ſea; and accordingly ſoon after purſued him into the port of Mytilene with an hundred and ſeventy ſail, took thirty of his ſhips, and beſieged him in the town, from which he cut off all proviſions. He ſoon after took ten ſhips more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then hearing that the Athenians had fitted out their whole ſtrength, conſiſting of an hundred and fifty ſail, he left fifty of his ſhips, under Etonicus, to carry on the ſiege of Mytilene, and with an hundred and twenty more met the Athenians, at Argineuſæ, over againſt Leſbos. His pilot

pilot adviſed him to retreat, for that the enemy was ſuperior in number. He told him that Sparta would be never the worſe inhabited though he were ſlain. The fight was long and obſtinate, until at laſt the ſhip of Callicratidas, charging through the enemy, was ſunk, and the reſt fled. The Peloponneſians loſt about ſeventy ſail, and the Athenians twenty-five, with moſt of the men in them. The Athenian admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, inſtead of being rewarded for ſo ſignal a victory, were made a barbarous inſtance of the power and ingratitude of their fellow-citizens. Upon a relation of the fight before the ſenate, it was alledged, they had ſuffered their men who were ſhipwrecked to be loſt, when they might have ſaved them; upon which they were clapped in irons, in order to anſwer for their conduct to the people. They urged, in their defence, that they were purſuing the enemy; and, at the ſame time, gave orders about taking up the men to thoſe whoſe buſineſs it more peculiarly was; particularly to Theramenes, who was now their accuſer; but yet that their orders could not be executed, by reaſon of a violent ſtorm which happened at that time. This ſeemed ſo reaſonable and ſatisfactory, that ſeveral ſtood up and offered to bail them: but, in another aſſembly, the popular incendiaries demanded juſtice, and ſo awed the

judges, that Socrates was the only man who had courage enough to declare, he would do nothing contrary to law, and accordingly refuſed to act. After a long debate eight of the ten were condemned, and ſix of them were put to death; among whom was Pericles, ſon of the great Pericles. He declared, that they had failed in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders that the dead bodies ſhould be taken up; that if any one were guilty, it was he, who, being charged with theſe orders, had neglected to put them in execution; but that he accuſed nobody, and that the tempeſt which came on unexpectedly, at the very inſtant, was an unanſwerable apology, and entirely diſcharged the accuſed from all guilt. He demanded that a whole day ſhould be allowed them to make their defence, a favour not denied to the moſt criminal, and that they ſhould be tried ſeparately. He repreſented, that they were not in the leaſt obliged to precipitate a ſentence wherein the lives of the moſt illuſtrious citizens were concerned; that it was in ſome meaſure attacking the gods, to make men reſponſible for the winds and weather; that they could not, without the moſt flagrant ingratitude and injuſtice, put the conquerors to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of thoſe who envied them; that if they did

ſo,

ſo, their unjuſt judgment would be followed by a ſudden, but vain repentance, which would leave behind it the ſharpeſt remorſe, and cover them with eternal infamy. Among the number alſo was Diomedon, a perſon equally eminent for his valour and his probity; as he was carrying to his execution, he demanded to be heard. "Athenians," ſaid he, "I wiſh the ſentence you have paſſed upon us may not prove the misfortune of the republic; but I have one favour to aſk of you in behalf of my colleagues and myſelf; which is, to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourſelves, as we are not in a condition to diſcharge them; for it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy." There was not a good citizen that did not melt into tears at this diſcourſe, ſo full of goodneſs and religion, and admire with ſurprize the moderation of a perſon, who ſeeing himſelf unjuſtly coudemned, did not, however, vent the leaſt reſentment, or even complaint againſt his judges, but was ſolely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country which had doomed them to periſh) upon what it owed to the gods, in common with them, for the victory they had lately obtained.

This complication of injuſtice and ingratitude ſeemed to give the finiſhing blow to the affairs of

the Athenian ſtate; they ſtruggled for a while after their defeat at Syracuſe, but from hence they were entirely ſunk, though ſeemingly in the arms of victory.

The enemy, after their laſt defeat, had once more recourſe to Lyſander, who had ſo often led them to conqueſt: on him they placed their chief confidence, and ardently ſolicited his return. The Lacedæmonians, to gratify their allies, and yet to obſerve their laws, which forbade that honour being conferred twice on the ſame perſon, ſent him with an inferior title, but with the power of admiral. Thus appointed, Lyſander ſailed towards the Helleſpont, and laid ſiege to Lampſacus: the place was carried by ſtorm, and abandoned by Lyſander to the mercy of the ſoldiers. The Athenians, who followed him cloſe, upon the news of his ſucceſs, ſteered forward towards Oleſtus, and from thence ſailing along the coaſt, halted over againſt the enemy at Ægos Potamos, a place fatal to the Athenians.

The Helleſpont is not above two thouſand paces broad in that place. The two armies ſeeing themſelves ſo near each other, expected only to reſt that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next. But Lyſander had another deſign in view: he commanded the ſeamen and pilots to go on board their gallies, as if they were in reality to

to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themſelves in readineſs, and to wait his orders in profound ſilence. He ordered the land army in like manner to draw up in battle upon the coaſt, and to wait the day without any noiſe. On the morning, as ſoon as the ſun was riſen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lyſander, though his ſhips were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay ſtill without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not ſuffer his ſoldiers to go aſhore till two or three gallies which he had ſent out to obſerve them, were returned with advice, that they had ſeen the enemy land. The next day paſſed in the ſame manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reſerve and apprehenſion, extremely augmented the ſecurity and boldneſs of the Athenians, and inſpired them with an high contempt for an army, which fear prevented from ſhewing themſelves or attempting any thing.

Whilſt this paſſed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horſe and came to the Athenian generals, to whom he repreſented, that they kept upon a very diſadvantageous coaſt, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their proviſions from

from Seſtos, with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to ſuffer the ſoldiers and mariners of the fleet, as ſoon as they were aſhore to ſtraggle and diſperſe themſelves at their pleaſure, whilſt the enemy's fleet faced them in view, accuſtomed to execute the orders of their general with inſtant obedience, and upon the ſlighteſt ſignal. He offered alſo to attack the enemy by land with a ſtrong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, eſpecially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themſelves with refuſing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall upon them; and, if favourable, that Alcibiades would engroſs the whole honour of it, but rejected alſo with inſult his wiſe and ſalutary counſel; as if a man in diſgrace loſt his ſenſe and abilities with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day the Athenians preſented themſelves again, and offered him battle, retiring in the evening according to cuſtom, with more inſulting airs than the days before. Lyſander, as uſual, detached ſome gallies to obſerve them, with orders to return with the utmoſt diligence when they ſaw the Athenians landed, and to put a brown buckler at each ſhip's head as ſoon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himſelf in the mean time,

time, ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the ſeamen and ſoldiers in readineſs to row and fight on the firſt ſignal.

As ſoon as the bucklers were put up in the ſhip's heads, and the admiral's galley had given the ſignal by the ſound of trumpet, the whole fleet ſet forwards, in good order. The land army, at the ſame time, made all poſſible haſte to the top of the promontory, to ſee the battle. The ſtrait that ſeparates the two continents in this place is about fifteen ſtadia, or three quarters of a league in breadth, which ſpace was preſently cleared through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the firſt who perceived from ſhore the enemy's fleet advancing in good order to attack him, upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of ſorrow and perplexity, ſome he called to by their names, ſome he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their gallies; but all his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the ſoldiers being diſperſed on all ſides. For they were no ſooner come on ſhore, than ſome were run to the ſuttlers, ſome to walk in the country, ſome to ſleep in their tents, and others had begun to dreſs their ſuppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who,

not

not ſuſpecting the leaſt danger, indulged themſelves in taking their repoſe, and gave their ſoldiers the ſame liberty.

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries, and a great noiſe of their oars, when Conon diſengaging himſelf with nine gallies, of which number was the ſacred ſhip, he ſtood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponneſians falling upon the reſt of the fleet, took immediately the gallies which were empty, and diſabled and deſtroyed ſuch as began to fill with men. The ſoldiers who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or flying on ſhore, were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in purſuit of them. Lyſander took three thouſand priſoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet, after having plundered the camp, and faſtened the enemy's gallies to the ſterns of his own, he returned to Lampſacus amidſt the ſounds of flutes and ſongs of triumph. It was his glory to have atchieved one of the greateſt military exploits recorded in hiſtory with little or no loſs, and to have terminated a war in the ſmall ſpace of an hour, which had already laſted ſeven and twenty years, and which, perhaps, without him had been of much longer continuance. Lyſander immedi-

ately ſent diſpatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

The three thouſand priſoners taken in this battle having been condemned to die, Lyſander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had cauſed all the priſoners taken in two gallies, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly perſuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the priſoners of war, in order to diſable them from handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to ſerve at the oar. Lyſander, therefore, cauſed him to be brought forth, and aſked him what ſentence he would paſs upon himſelf for having induced his city to paſs that cruel decree. Philocles, without departing from his haughtineſs in the leaſt, notwithſtanding the extreme danger he was in, made anſwer: "Accuſe not people of crimes who have no judges, but as you are victors, uſe your right, and do by us as we had done by you if we had conquered." At the ſame inſtant he went into a bath, put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremoſt to the execution. All the priſoners were put to the ſword except Adamantus, who had oppoſed the decree.

When the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens, by a ſhip which arrived in the night

night at the Piræus, the city was in conſternation. They naturally expected a ſiege: and, in fact, Lyſander was preparing to beſiege them. Nothing was heard but cries of ſorrow and deſpair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates; they repreſented to themſelves the miſeries of a long ſiege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the inſolence of a proud victor, and the ſhameful ſlavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and inſupportable to them than the moſt ſevere puniſhments, and death itſelf. The next day the aſſembly was ſummoned, wherein it was reſolved to ſhut up all the ports, one only excepted, to repair the breaches in the walls, and mount guard to prepare againſt a ſiege.

Their fears were ſoon confirmed by reality. Lyſander finding numbers of Athenians diſperſed in different cities, commanded them all on pain of death to take ſhelter in Athens. This he did with a deſign, ſo to croud the city as to be able ſoon to reduce it by famine. In effect, he ſoon after arrived at the port of Athens with an hundred and fifty ſail; while Agis and Pauſanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced with their army to beſiege it by land.

The wretched Athenians, thus hemmed in on every ſide, without proviſions, ſhips, or hopes of relief,

relief, prepared to meet the laſt extremity with patience: in this manner, without ſpeaking the leaſt word of a capitulation, and dying in the ſtreets by numbers, they obſtinately continued on the defenſive; but, at length, their corn and proviſions being entirely conſumed, they found themſelves compelled to ſend deputies to Agis, with offers of abandoning all their poſſeſſions, their city and port only excepted. The haughty Lacedæmonian referred their deputies to the ſtate itſelf, and when the ſuppliant deputies had made known their commiſſion to the Ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other propoſals if they expected peace. At length, Theramenes, an Athenian, undertook to manage the treaty with Lyſander; and, after three months of cloſe conference, he received full powers to treat at Lacedæmon. When he, attended by nine others, arrived before the Ephori, it was there ſtrongly urged by ſome of the confederates, that Athens ſhould be totally deſtroyed, without hearkening to any farther propoſals. But the Lacedæmonians told them, they would not deſtroy a city which had ſo eminently reſcued Greece in the moſt critical juncture, and conſented to a peace upon theſe conditions: that the long walls and fortifications of the Piræus ſhould be demoliſhed; that they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips but twelve; that they ſhould reſtore

their

their exiles; that they ſhould make a league offenſive and defenſive with the Lacedæmonians, and ſerve them in all their expeditions, both by ſea and land. Theramenes being returned with the articles to Athens, was aſked why he acted ſo contrary to the intentions of Themiſtocles, and gave thoſe walls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, which he built in defiance of them? I have my eye, ſays he, upon Themiſtocles's deſign; he raiſed theſe walls for the preſervation of the city, and I for the very ſame reaſon would have them deſtroyed; for if walls only ſecure a city, Sparta, which has none, is in a very ill condition. The Athenians, at another time, would not have thought this a ſatisfactory anſwer, but being reduced to the laſt extremity, it did not admit of a long debate whether they ſhould accept the treaty. At laſt, Lyſander coming up the Piræus, demoliſhed the walls with great ſolemnity, and all the inſulting triumphs of muſic. Thus a final period was put to this unhappy war, which had continued for ſeven and twenty years, in which heaps of treaſure and a deluge of blood were exhauſted.

It would be unpardonable in us, not to pay that tribute of gratitude and reſpect, which is due to the memory of thoſe exalted geniuſes, whoſe labours adorned the nations of their own times, and have poliſhed and humanized thoſe of latter times.

Wars

Wars and political conteſts, ſerve but to depopulate the earth, or to fill the minds of men with animoſity and hate; while the labours of the hiſtorian, the fancies of the poet, and the inventions of the philoſopher, enlarge the underſtanding, meliorate the heart, and teach us fortitude and reſignation. Such peaceful and improving arts well deſerve our notice. More eſpecially does the cultivation of them in Greece deſerve our attention, as many of the writers of that country were renowned for military or political, as well as literary accompliſhments.

Of Homer it were unneceſſary to ſay much, his merit being well known. It is not probable that he was the firſt of the Grecian poets. There ſeems to have been authors prior to him, from whom he has borrowed in the execution of his Iliad; but as he was the firſt poet of note, it was not unnatural to place him at the head of all ancient bards. Concurring teſtimonies ſeem to allow Smyrna the higheſt claim to the honour of giving him birth. That event took place about two hundred and forty years after the deſtruction of Troy.

Heſiod was either contemporary with Homer, or lived immediately after him. Their works will not bear a compariſon. Homer is ſtately and ſublime, while Heſiod is plain and agreeable. But

when we ſay ſo, we do not mean to detract in the leaſt from the reputation of Heſiod: to write with ſweetneſs and propriety was all he ſtudied, and theſe he certainly attained to.

About the beginning of the war which preceded the peace concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for fifty years, died Æſchylus, the Athenian dramatic writer. He has the ſame claim to the title of *Father of Tragedy*, which Homer has to that of *Poetry*; for although he was not the firſt who attempted that ſort of compoſition, yet he was the firſt who reduced it to any kind of regularity and method. In the days of Solon, Theſpis made a conſiderable improvement, by introducing a ſingle perſon, whoſe buſineſs was to relieve the chorus, by the recital of ſome extraordinary adventure. It was Æſchylus who exchanged the cart of Theſpis for a theatre; who introduced a variety of performers, each taking a part in the repreſentation of ſome great action, and dreſſed in a manner ſuited to his character. The ſtyle of Æſchylus is pompous, and ſometimes ſublime, but harſh, and deſtitute of muſical arrangement. Had he been leſs obſcure, he would have had a much higher claim to the character of *ſublime*. The chief object of his pieces is *terror*; and there is not a doubt but that his rough, unpoliſhed

liſhed manner has contributed greatly to promote that object.

During that period, in which Greece was ſo much diſtracted by the Peloponneſian war, there flouriſhed Sophocles, Euripides, Ariſtophanes, &c. among the poets; Herodotus and Thucydides among the hiſtorians; and Socrates among the philoſophers.

Sophocles had applied ſo intenſely to the ſtudy of tragedy, when a young man, that his firſt piece was judged not inferior to the very beſt of thoſe of Æſchylus. Both of theſe poets were ſtately in their manner, but Æſchylus was the more ſublime. That advantage, however, was more than counterbalanced by the verſatility of Sophocles's genius, and by his ſuperior perſpicuity and eloquence. He was alſo more ſucceſsful than his maſter in his appeal to the paſſions; and though he did not harrow up the breaſt ſo much by *terror*, he ſoftened it more by *pity*, and acquired, of courſe, the reputation of being a more amiable and polite writer. Sophocles was likewiſe much more happy than his predeceſſor in the conduct of his plots; he made them more intereſting, by being more artful. He alſo contrived to make the performances of the chorus bear a relation to the main action, and ſo rendered the whole entire.

The great applauſe with which his laſt piece was received is ſaid to have coſt him his life.

Euripides, the rival of Sophocles, aimed not at the lofty ſtrains of Æſchylus, or of his great competitor: he was more ſententious and moral than either of them, and ſeemed to have as ſtrong a deſire to inſtruct mankind, as to obtain their approbation. Correctneſs and elegance were the qualities of ſtyle which he appears to have admired. He is leſs artful and magnificent than Sophocles; but then he is more natural, and more uſeful. We have already mentioned a circumſtance which redounded very much to the honour of the poet—the emancipation of many of the Athenians who were made priſoners at Syracuſe, becauſe they repeated ſome of his beautiful verſes.

While tragedy was improving in the hands of Sophocles and Euripides, comedy was advancing under the guidance of Phrynicus, Ariſtophanes, and Cratinus. But the moſt diſtinguiſhed genius of this kind was Ariſtophanes. At the ſame time that he entertained the Athenians with his pleaſantry, he laſhed them with his ſatire. True it is, he did not poſſeſs much of that fine raillery, which has given ſo ſmooth, and yet ſo ſharp an edge to modern comedy; but then he poſſeſſed fire and ſtrength; and by introducing his characters without the diſguiſe of name, occupation, &c. his performances

formances were often more reliſhed, and, moſt likely, more uſeful than thoſe of the tragedians. The period of which we are ſpeaking may very properly be called *The free age of Poetry in Greece.* There were ſeveral cauſes which conſpired to make it ſo. The taſte and manners of the Greeks had been refined, and their minds enlarged, by their intercourſe with foreign nations, and the leſſons of their philoſophers; and what was a greater incentive to emulation among the poets than any of theſe, was, the ſmooth, muſical, expreſſive, copious, and varied language in which they wrote.

As to hiſtory, Herodotus is conſidered as the father of that ſpecies of compoſition in Greece. He wrote the hiſtory of the wars between the Greeks and Perſians, and gave a detail of the affairs of almoſt all other nations, from the reign of Cyrus to that of Xerxes. His work conſiſts of nine books. It is clothed in the Ionic dialect, and is a perfect model of ſimplicity and elegance.

Thucydides is eſteemed a more able writer than even Herodotus. He wants, indeed, that native elegance, for which his predeceſſor is admired; but then he is more judicious and energetic. He wrote the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war.

Of Socrates, Ariſtotle, Demoſthenes, and other illuſtrious Grecian writers and philoſophers, mention is made in different parts of this work. There

is a circumſtance that merits our attention here; the diſcovery of the *Metonic*, or *Golden Number*, by Meton. That philoſopher flouriſhed a little before the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, and was much eſteemed by the Athenians.

Pindar was a native of Thebes, and contemporary with Meton.

CHAP. XI.

From the Demolition of the Athenian Power, to the Death of Socrates.

THE victory of Lyſander was ſo terrible a ſhock to Athens, that it only ſurvived to be ſenſible of the loſs of its own power; however, the conquerors were ſo generous as not to extinguiſh the name; they ſaid they would not be guilty of putting out one of the eyes of Greece; but they impoſed ſome farther marks of conqueſt on them: they obliged the people to demoliſh the democracy, and ſubmit to the government of thirty men, who were commonly known by the name of the thirty tyrants. Though the Greeks were apt enough to give that name to men of virtuous characters, theſe men, who were the creatures of Lyſander, in every reſpect deſerved the moſt oppro-

brious denomination: inſtead of compiling and publiſhing a more perfect body of laws, which was the pretence for their being choſen, they began to exert their power of life and death; and though they conſtituted a ſenate, and other magiſtrates, they made no farther uſe of them than to confirm their authority, and to ſee their commands executed. However, they at firſt acted cautiouſly, and condemned only the moſt deteſted and ſcandalous part of the citizens, ſuch as lived by evidencing and informing: but this was only to give a colour to their proceedings; their deſign was to make themſelves abſolute, and knowing that was not to be done without a foreign power, their next ſtep was to deſire a guard might be ſent them from Sparta, until ſuch time as they could clear the city from all diſaffected perſons, and thoroughly ſettle the government. Lyſander accordingly procured them a guard, under the command of Callibius, who, by bribes and artifices, was wrought over to their deſigns, and then ſeen to act without controul, filling the city with the blood of thoſe, who, on account of their riches, intereſt, or good qualities, were moſt likely to make head againſt them.

One of the firſt acts of their cruelty was, the procuring the death of Alcibiades, who had taken refuge in the dominions of Perſia. This unfortu-

nate general, ſtill mindful of the debt he owed his country, employed his utmoſt attention in giving it the earlieſt notices of what could affect its freedom or its ſafety. Cyrus, the prince of Perſia, having reſolved to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes, entered into a treaty with the Lacedæmonians, to aſſiſt him in his deſigns. Alcibiades did all that was in his power to obſtruct the ſcheme; but the Lacedæmonian partizans at Athens, that is to ſay, the thirty tyrants, apprehended the intrigues of ſo ſuperior a genius as his, and repreſented to their maſters, that they were inevitably ruined, if they did not find means to rid themſelves of Alcibiades. The Lacedæmonians thereupon wrote to Pharnabaſus, and with an abject meanneſs not to be excuſed, and which ſhewed how much Sparta had degenerated from her antient manners, made preſſing inſtances to him to deliver them at any rate from ſo formidable an enemy. This ſatrap complied with their wiſhes. Alcibiades was then in a ſmall town of Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine Timandra. Thoſe who were ſent to kill him, not daring to enter his houſe, contented themſelves with ſurrounding and ſetting it on fire. Alcibiades having quitted it through the flames, ſword in hand, the barbarians were afraid to ſtay to come to blows with him, but flying and retreating as he advanced, they poured their darts and

arrows

arrows upon him from a diſtance, and he fell dead upon the ſpot. Timandra took up his body, and having adorned and covered it with the fineſt robes ſhe had, ſhe made as magnificent a funeral for it as her preſent condition would admit.

Such was the end of Alcibiades, whoſe great virtues were ſtifled and ſuppreſſed by ſtill greater vices. It is not eaſy to ſay whether his good or bad qualities were moſt pernicious to his country, for with the one he deceived, and with the other he oppreſſed it. In him diſtinguiſhed valour was united with nobiſity of blood. His perſon was beautiful and finely made; he was eloquent, of great ability in affairs, inſinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory, but indulged at the ſame time, his inclination for pleaſure; nor was he ſo fond of pleaſure, as to neglect his glory for it: he knew how to give into, or abſtract himſelf from the allurements of luxury, according to the ſituation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his; he metamorphoſed himſelf with incredible facility, into the moſt contrary forms, and ſupported them all with as much eaſe and grace as if each had been natural to him.

In this manner the thirty proceeded, and fearing to be oppoſed by the multitude, they inveſted three thouſand citizens with ſome part of their power, and by their aſſiſtance preſerved the reſt.

But

But thoroughly emboldened by ſuch an acceſſion to their party, they agreed to ſingle out every one his man, to put him to death, and ſeize their eſtates for the maintenance of their garriſon. Theramenes, one of their number, was the only man that was ſtruck with horror at their proceedings; wherefore Critias, the principal author of this deteſtable reſolution, thought it neceſſary to remove him, and accuſed him to the ſenate of endeavouring to ſubvert the ſtate. Sentence of death was, therefore, paſſed upon him, and he was obliged to drink the juice of hemlock, the uſual mode of execution at that time in Athens. Socrates, whoſe diſciple he had been, was the only perſon of the ſenate who ventured to appear in his defence; he made an attempt to reſcue him out of the hands of the officer of juſtice, and after his execution, went about as it were in defiance of the thirty, exhorting and animating the ſenators and citizens againſt them.

The tyrants, delivered from a colleague whoſe preſence alone was a continual reproach to them, no longer obſerved any juſt meaſures. Nothing paſſed throughout the city but impriſonments and murders. Every body trembled for himſelf or his friends. The general deſolation had no remedy, nor was there any hope of regaining loſt liberty.

All

All the citizens of any conſideration in Athens, and who retained a love of freedom, quitted a place reduced to ſo hard and ſhameful a ſlavery, and ſought elſewhere an aſylum and retreat, where they might live in ſafety. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive thoſe unhappy fugitives of this laſt reſource. They publiſhed an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge, decreed that they ſhould be delivered up to the thirty tyrants, and condemned all ſuch as ſhould contravene the execution of this edict, to pay a fine of five talents. Only two cities rejected with diſdain ſo unjuſt an ordinance, Megara and Thebes; the latter of which made a decree to puniſh all perſons whatſoever, that ſhould ſee an Athenian attacked by his enemies without doing his utmoſt to aſſiſt him. Lyſias, an orator of Syracuſe, who had been baniſhed by the thirty, raiſed five hundred ſoldiers at his own expence, and ſent them to the aid of the native country of eloquence.

Thraſybulus, a man of admirable character, who had long deplored the miſeries of his country, was now the firſt to relieve it. At Thebes he fell into a conſultation with his fellow-citizens, and the reſult was, that ſome vigorous effort, though it ſhould carry never ſo much danger, ought to be made for the benefit of public liberty. Accordingly, with a party

a party of thirty men only, as Nepos ſays, but, as Xenophon more probably ſays, of near ſeventy, he ſeized upon Phyle, a ſtrong caſtle on the frontiers of Attica. This enterprize gave the alarm to the tyrants, who immediately marched out of Athens with their three thouſand followers, and their Spartan guard, and attempted the recovery of the place, but were repulſed with loſs. Finding they could not carry it by a ſudden aſſault, they reſolved upon a ſiege, but not being ſufficiently provided for that ſervice, and a great ſnow falling that night, they were forced to retire the next day into the city, leaving only part of their guard, to prevent any farther incurſions into the country. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Thraſybulus no longer kept himſelf confined, but marched out of Phyle by night; and, at the head of a body of a thouſand men, ſeized on the Pyræus. The thirty flew thither with their troops, and a battle ſufficiently warm enſued; but, as the ſoldiers on one ſide fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and, on the other, with indolence and neglect for the power of their oppreſſors, the ſucceſs was not doubtful, but followed the better cauſe: the tyrants were overthrown; Critias was killed upon the ſpot; and, as the reſt of the army were taken to flight, Thraſybulus cried out, "Wherefore do you fly from me as from a victor, rather than

than aſſiſt me as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow-citizens, nor have we declared war againſt the city, but againſt the thirty tyrants." He continued, with bidding them remember that they had the ſame origin, country, laws, and religion; he exhorted them to compaſſionate their exiled brethren, to reſtore to them their country, and reſume their liberty themſelves. This diſcourſe had ſuitable effects. The army, upon their return to Athens, expelled the thirty, and ſubſtituted ten perſons to govern in their room, but whoſe conduct proved no better than that of thoſe whom they ſucceeded.

Though the government was thus altered, and the thirty were depoſed from power, they ſtill had hopes of being reinſtated in their former authority, and ſent deputies to Lacedæmon to demand aid. Lyſander was for granting it to them; but Pauſanias, who then reigned in Sparta, moved with compaſſion at the deplorable condition of the Athenians, favoured them in ſecret, and obtained a peace for them: it was ſealed with the blood of the tyrants, who having taken arms to reinſtate themſelves in government, were put to the ſword, and Athens left in full poſſeſſion of its liberty. Thraſybulus then propoſed an amneſty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath that all paſt actions ſhould be buried in oblivion. The government

was

was then re-eſtabliſhed in its ancient forms; their laws were reſtored to their paſt vigour, the magiſtrates elected with the uſual ceremonies, and democracy once more reſtored to this unfortunate people. Xenophon obſerves, that this inteſtine fury had conſumed as many in eight months, as the Peloponneſian war had done in ten years.

Upon the re-eſtabliſhment of affairs in Athens, the other ſtates enjoyed the ſame tranquillity, or rather kept in a quiet ſubjection to Sparta, which now held the undoubted ſovereignty of Greece. But it being a maxim with the Spartans, that this ſovereignty was not to be maintained but by a conſtant courſe of action, they were ſtill ſeeking freſh occaſions for war; and part of their forces, together with another body of Grecians, being at this time engaged in a quarrel between the Perſian king and his brother, it will be neceſſary to paſs over into Aſia, and relate ſo much of the Perſian affairs as concerns the expedition of Cyrus, wherein thoſe forces were employed, eſpecially ſince it is attended with circumſtances which, if duly conſidered, will eaſily make it paſs for one of the greateſt actions of antiquity.

It has been already obſerved, that Cyrus, the ſon of Darius Nothus, ſaw with pain his elder brother Artaxerxes upon the throne, and more than once attempted to remove him. Artaxerxes was

not

not inſenſible of what he had to fear from a brother of his enterprizing and ambitious ſpirit, but could not refuſe pardoning him on the prayers and tears of his mother Paryſatis, who doated upon this youngeſt ſon. He removed him, therefore, into Aſia to his government, confiding in him, contrary to all the rules of policy, an abſolute authority over all the provinces left him by the will of the king his father. He was no ſooner appointed in this manner, but he uſed all his arts with the barbarians and the Grecians to procure power and popularity, in order to dethrone his brother. Clearchus retired to his court, after having been baniſhed from Sparta, and was of great ſervice to him, being an able, experienced, and valiant captain. At the ſame time, ſeveral cities in the provinces of Tiſſaphernes revolted from their obedience in favour of Cyrus. This incident, which was not an effect of chance, but of the ſecret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between the two brothers. The emiſſaries of Cyrus at the court, were perpetually diſperſing reports and opinions amongſt the people, to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They talked that the ſtate required a king of Cyrus's character, a king magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and ſhowered his favours upon thoſe that ſerved him; and that it was neceſſary, for the grandeur of the empire,

empire, to have a prince upon the throne fired with ambition and valour, for the ſupport and augmentation of his glory.

The troops of Cyrus, which were apparently levied for the buſineſs of the ſtate, but in fact to overturn it, conſiſted of thirteen thouſand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army. Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, who commanded the Peloponneſian troops, was the only man of all the Greeks that was let into the Perſian prince's deſign; he made it his ſole application to gain the affections of his people during their marches, by treating them with humanity, converſing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they ſhould want for nothing. The Grecian troops knew neither the intent nor the occaſion of the war; they ſet out for Sardis, at length, and marched towards the upper provinces of Athens.

When they were arrived at Tarſus, the Greeks refuſed to march any farther, rightly ſuſpecting that they were intended againſt the king, and loudly exclaiming, that they had not entered into the ſervice upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occaſion for all his addreſs and ability to ſtifle this commotion in its birth. At firſt he made uſe of authority and force, but with very ill ſucceſs, and deſiſted therefore from an open

oppoſition to their ſentiments: he even affected to enter into their views, and to ſupport them with his approbation and credit. By this artful evaſion he appeaſed the tumult, and made them eaſy; and they choſe him and ſome other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had ſecretly apprized of every thing, made anſwer, that he was going to attack Abrocomas, his enemy, at twelve days march from thence upon the Euphrates. When this anſwer was repeated to them, though they plainly ſaw againſt whom they were going, they reſolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, inſtead of one daric a month to each ſoldier, promiſed to give them one and a half. Still to ingratiate himſelf the more, being told that two officers had deſerted from the army, and being adviſed to purſue and put them to death, he declared publicly, that it ſhould never be ſaid he had detained any one perſon in his ſervice againſt his will; and he ordered their wives and children, who were left as hoſtages in his army, to be ſent after them. A conduct ſo wiſe, and apparently generous, had a ſurprizing effect in conciliating the affections of the ſoldiery, and made even thoſe his firm adherents who were before inclined to retire.

As Cyrus advanced by long marches, he was informed, from all parts, that the king did not intend

to come directly to a battle, but had reſolved to wait in the remoteſt parts of Perſia till all his forces were aſſembled; and that, to ſtop his enemies, he had ordered an entrenchment to be thrown up on the plains of Babylon, with a ditch of five fathoms broad, and three deep, extending the ſpace of twelve paraſangs, or leagues, from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the ditch a way had been left of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus paſſed with his whole army, having reviewed it the day before. The king had neglected to diſpute this paſs with him, and ſuffered him to continue his march towards Babylon.

Cyrus ſtill continued to proceed, giving Clearchus the command of the right wing of the Grecian army, and Menon that of the left, ſtill marching in order of battle, expecting every hour to engage. At length he diſcovered his brother's army, conſiſting of twelve hundred thouſand men, beſides a ſelect body of ſix thouſand horſe, approaching and preparing to engage.

The place where the battle was fought was called Cunara, about twenty-five leagues from Babylon. Cyrus getting on horſeback, with his javelin in his hand, gave orders to the troops to ſtand to their arms, and proceed in order of battle. The enemy, in the mean time, advanced ſlowly, in good order.

Artaxerxes

Artaxerxes led them on regularly with a ſlow pace, without noiſe or confuſion. That good order and exact diſcipline extremely ſurprized the Greeks, who expected to ſee much luxury and tumult in ſo great a multitude, and to hear confuſed cries, as Cyrus had foretold them.

The armies were not diſtant above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to ſing the hymn of battle, and to march on ſoftly at firſt, and with ſilence. When they came near the enemy they ſet up great cries, ſtriking their darts upon their ſhields to frighten the horſe; and then moving all together, they ſprung forwards upon the barbarians with all their force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels and fled univerſally, except Tiſſaphernes, who ſtood his ground with a ſmall part of his troops.

Cyrus ſaw with pleaſure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by thoſe around him; but he did not give himſelf up to a vain joy, nor as yet reckoned himſelf victor. He perceived that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank, and marched directly againſt him with ſix hundred horſe. He killed Artagerſes, who commanded the king's guard of ſix thouſand horſe, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. Diſcovering his brother, he cried out, with his eyes ſparkling with rage, I ſee him,

and ſpurred againſt him, followed only by his principal officers, for his troops had quitted their ranks to follow the run-aways, which was an eſſential fault.

The battle then became a ſingle combat, in ſome meaſure, between Artaxerxes and Cyrus; and the two brothers were ſeen tranſported with rage and fury, endeavouring, like Eteocles and Polynices, to plunge their ſwords into each other's hearts, and to aſſure themſelves of the throne by the death of their rival.

Cyrus having opened his way through thoſe who were drawn up in battle before Artaxerxes, joined him, and killed his horſe, and fell with him to the ground; he roſe, and was remounted upon another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a ſecond wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his laſt. The king, like a lion, wounded by the huntſman, was only the more furious from the ſmart, and ſprung forwards, impetuouſly puſhing his horſe againſt Cyrus, who running headlong, and without regard to his perſon, threw himſelf into the midſt of a flight of darts aimed at him from all ſides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the inſtant that all the reſt diſcharged upon him. Cyrus fell dead; ſome ſay by the wound given him by the king, others affirm that he was killed by a Carian

rian ſoldier. The greateſt perſons of his court reſolving not to ſurvive ſo good a maſter, were all killed around his body: a certain proof, ſays Xenophon, that he well knew how to chuſe his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmeſt of all his adherents, fled with the left wing, as ſoon as he heard of his death.

Artaxerxes, after having cauſed the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Meſabates, purſued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not ſtopped there, but, having paſſed through it, continued his retreat to the place where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues diſtant.

Tiſſaphernes, after the defeat of the greateſt part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the reſt againſt them, and, by the ſide of the river, paſſed through the light armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him a paſſage, and made their diſcharges upon him as he paſſed, without loſing a man. They were commanded by Epiſthenes, of Amphipolis, who was eſteemed an able captain. Tiſſaphernes kept on, without returning to the charge, becauſe he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to Cyrus's camp, where he found the king, who was plundering it, but had not been

able to force the quarter defended by the Greeks, who ſaved their baggage.

The Greeks on their ſide, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what had paſſed elſewhere, believed each of them that they had gained the victory; the firſt, becauſe they had put the enemy to flight, and purſued them; and the king, becauſe he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought, and plundered their camp. The event was ſoon cleared up on both ſides. Tiſſaphernes, upon his arival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and purſued it with great vigour; and the Greeks, on their ſide, learnt that the king, in purſuing Cyrus's left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice the king rallied his troops, and marched in queſt of the enemy; and Clearchus, being returned from purſuing the Perſians, advanced to ſupport the camp.

The two armies were very ſoon near each other, when, by a movement made by the king, he ſeemed to intend to charge the Greeks on their left, who, fearing to be ſurrounded on all ſides, wheeled about and halted, with the river on their backs, to prevent their being taken in the rear. Upon ſeeing that, the king changed his form of battle alſo, drew up his army in front of them, and marched on to the attack. As ſoon as the Greeks ſaw him approach,

approach, they began to ſing the hymn of battle, and advanced againſt the enemy even with more ardour than in the firſt action.

The barbarians again began to fly, running farther than before, and were purſued to a village at the foot of a hill, upon which their horſe halted. The king's ſtandard was obſerved to be there, which was a golden eagle upon the top of a pike, having its wings diſplayed. The Greeks preparing to purſue them, they abandoned alſo the hill, fled precipitately with all their troops broke, and in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. Clearchus having drawn up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lycias, the Syracuſan, and another, to go up it, and obſerve what paſſed in the plain. They returned with an account, that the enemy fled on all ſides, and that their whole army was routed.

As it was almoſt night, the Greeks laid down their arms to reſt themſelves, much ſurprized that neither Cyrus, nor any from him appeared; and imagining that he was either engaged in the purſuit of the enemy, or was making haſte to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome important place (for they were ſtill ignorant of his death and the defeat of his army) they determined to return to their camp, and found the greateſt part of the baggage taken, with all the proviſions, and four hundred waggons

laden with corn and wine, which Cyrus had expreſsly cauſed to be carried along with the army for the Greeks, in caſe of any preſſing neceſſity. They paſſed the night in the camp; the greateſt part of them without any refreſhment, concluding that Cyrus was alive, and victorious.

Amidſt the confuſion the Grecians were in after the battle, they ſent to Ariæus, as conqueror and commander in chief, upon Cyrus's death, to offer him the Perſian crown. In the mean time, the king, as conqueror alſo on his ſide, ſent to them to ſurrender their arms, and implore his mercy; repreſenting to them, at the ſame time, that as they were in the heart of his dominions, ſurrounded with vaſt rivers and numberleſs nations, it would be impoſſible for them to eſcape his vengeance; and, therefore, they had nothing to do but to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity. Upon debating among themſelves what anſwer they ſhould return, Proxenus deſired to know of the heralds upon what terms the king demanded their arms:—if as conqueror, it was in his power to take them; if upon any other footing, what would he give them in return? He was ſeconded by Xenophon, who ſaid, they had nothing left but their arms and their liberty, and that they could not preſerve the one without the other. Clearchus ſaid to the ſame effect, that if the king was diſpoſed to be their friend,

friend, they ſhould be in a better capacity of ſerving him with their arms than without; if their enemy, they ſhould have need of them for their defence. Some, indeed, ſpoke in terms more complying; that as they had ſerved Cyrus faithfully, they would alſo ſerve Artaxerxes, if he would employ them, and provided he would, at the ſame time, put them in poſſeſſion of Egypt. At laſt it was agreed, they ſhould remain in the place where they were; and that if they advanced farther, or retreated back, it ſhould be looked upon as a declaration of war: ſo that by the iſſue of the debate, it appeared to have been managed ſo as to avoid giving a direct anſwer, and only to amuſe the king and gain time.

Whilſt this treaty was on foot, they received Ariæus's anſwer, that there were too many powerful men in Perſia to let him poſſeſs the throne; wherefore he intended to ſet out early the next morning on his return to Greece; and that, if they had a mind to accompany him, they ſhould join him that night in his camp: which accordingly they all did, except Milthocytus, a Thracian, who went with a party of three hundred men and forty horſe to the king. The reſt, in conjunction with Ariæus's forces, decamped by break of day, and continued their march until ſun-ſet, when they diſcovered

covered from the neighbouring villages, that the king was in purſuit of them.

Clearchus, who now undertook to conduct the Greeks, ordered his troops to halt, and prepared for an engagement. The king of Perſia terrified by ſo bold an appearance, ſent heralds, not to demand their ſurrender, but to propoſe terms of peace and treaty. When Clearchus was informed of their arrival, he gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them that he was not yet at leiſure to hear them. He aſſumed purpoſely an air of haughtineſs and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and, at the ſame time, to ſhew the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the moſt ſhewy of his officers, expreſsly choſen for the occaſion, and had heard what the heralds had to propoſe, he made anſwer, that they muſt begin with giving battle, becauſe the army being in want of proviſions, they had no time to loſe. The heralds having carried back this anſwer to their maſter, returned immediately; which ſhewed that the king, or whoever ſpoke in his name, was not very far diſtant. They ſaid they had orders to conduct them to villages, where they would find proviſions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

After three days ſtay, Tiſſaphernes arrived from the king, and inſinuated to them the good offices he

he had done for their ſafety. Clearchus in his own defence urged, that they were engaged in this expedition without knowing the enemy againſt whom they were to contend; that they were free from all engagements, and had no deſign againſt the Perſian king, unleſs he oppoſed their return. Tiſſaphernes ſeemingly granted their deſire, and promiſed that they ſhould be furniſhed with all neceſſary proviſions in their march; and, to confirm their ſecurity, that he himſelf would be their companion on the way.

Accordingly, in a few days after, they ſet out under his conduct; but, in their march, the barbarians encamping at about a league's diſtance from the Grecians, created ſome little diſtruſts and jealouſies on both ſides. In about fifty days, being got to the banks of the river Zabatus, Clearchus, to prevent things coming to an open rupture, had a conference with Tiſſaphernes. The reſult of their diſcourſe was, that they had been miſrepreſented to each other by ſome of Clearchus's officers, and that he ſhould bring them all to Tiſſaphernes, in order to detect thoſe who were guilty. In conſequence of this, it was agreed between them that there ſhould be a general conſultation of officers, in which thoſe who had been remiſs, or attempted to ſow any diſſenſions between the two armies, ſhould be expoſed and puniſhed.

Menon, in particular, was ſuſpected on both ſides, and he was appointed among the number. In conſequence of this fatal reſolution, the five principal generals attended the ſucceeding day at the Perſian general's tent. Their names were, Clearchus, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates; they, on a ſignal given, were immediately ſeized, their attendants put to the ſword, and themſelves, after being ſent bound to the king, were beheaded in his preſence.

Nothing could exceed the conſternation of the Greeks, when they were informed of the maſſacre of their generals: they were now near two thouſand miles from home, ſurrounded with great rivers, extenſive deſerts, and inimical nations, without any ſupplies of proviſions. In this ſtate of general dejection, they could think of taking neither nouriſhment nor repoſe; all now turned their eyes upon Xenophon, a young Athenian, who had been invited into Aſia by Proxenes, and had hitherto ſerved as a volunteer in the army. This was that Xenophon, afterwards ſo famous as an hiſtorian; and his conduct ſeemed equal to his eloquence, in which he ſurpaſſed all the reſt of mankind. This young general went to ſome of the Greek officers in the middle of the night, and repreſented to them that they had no time to loſe; that it was of the laſt importance to prevent the bad

bad deſigns of the enemy; that, however ſmall their number, they would render themſelves formidable, if they behaved with boldneſs and reſolution; that valour, and not multitudes, determines the ſucceſs of arms; and that it was neceſſary, above all things, to nominate generals immediately; becauſe an army without commanders, is like a body without a ſoul. A council was immediately held, at which an hundred officers were preſent; and Xenophon being deſired to ſpeak, deduced the reaſons at large he had at firſt but lightly touched upon; and, by his advice, commanders were appointed. They were, Timaſion for Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Agis, Phileſius for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.

Before the break of day they aſſembled the army. The generals made ſpeeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon among the reſt. "Fellow-ſoldiers, ſaid he, the loſs of ſo many brave men by vile treachery, and the being abandoned by our friends, is very deplorable; but we muſt not ſink under our misfortunes; and, if we cannot conquer, let us chuſe rather to periſh glorioufly, than to fall into the hands of barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greateſt miſeries; let us call to mind the glorious battles of Platæa, Thermopylæ, Salamis, and the many others wherein our anceſtors, though with a ſmall number, have fought and defeated

feated the innumerable armies of the Perſians, and thereby rendered the name alone of Greeks for ever formidable. It is to their invincible valour we owe the honour we poſſeſs of acknowledging no maſters upon earth but the gods, nor any happineſs but what conſiſts with liberty. Thoſe gods, the avengers of perjury, and witneſſes of the enemy's treaſon, will be favourable to us; and, as they are offended by the violation of treaties, and take pleaſure in humbling the proud, and exalting the low, they will alſo follow us to battle, and combat for us. For the reſt, fellow-ſoldiers, we have no refuge but in victory, which muſt be our hope, and will make us ample amends for whatever it coſts us to attain it. And I ſhould believe, if it were your opinion, that for the making a more ready and leſs difficult retreat, it would be very proper to rid ourſelves of all the uſeleſs baggage, and to keep only what is abſolutely neceſſary in our march." All the ſoldiers that moment lifted up their hands, to ſignify their approbation and conſent to all that had been ſaid, and without loſs of time ſet fire to their tents and carriages; ſuch of them as had too much equipage, giving it others who had too little, and deſtroying the reſt.

Cheriſophus, the Spartan general, led the van, and Xenophon, with Timaſion, brought up the rear. They bent their march towards the heads of

of the great rivers, in order to paſs them where they were fordable. But they had made little way before they were followed by a party of the enemy's archers and ſlingers, commanded by Mithridates, which galled their rear, and wounded ſeveral of them, who being heavy armed, and without cavalry, could make no reſiſtance. To prevent the like inconvenience, Xenophon furniſhed two hundred Rhodians with ſlings, and mounted fifty more of his men upon baggage horſes; ſo that when Mithridates came up with them a ſecond time, and with a much greater body, he repulſed them with loſs, and made good his retreat with this handful of men, until he arrived near the city of Lariſſa, on the banks of the Tigris. From thence they marched to another deſolate city, called Mepſila; and about four leagues from that place, Tiſſaphernes came up to them with his whole army in order of battle, but after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes were forced to retire. In a few days after he ſecured an eminence over which the Grecians were obliged to make their way; which Xenophon perceiving, took a detachment of the army, and with great diligence gained the top of a mountain which commanded that eminence, from whence he eaſily diſlodged the enemy, and made good a paſſage for the reſt of his troops into the plain, where they found plenty of proviſions, though Tiſſaphernes had

had done what he could before to burn and deſtroy the country.

But ſtill they were under as great difficulties as ever, being bounded on the one hand by the Tigris, and on the other by inacceſſible mountains, inhabited by the Carduci, a fierce and warlike people; and who, Xenophon ſays, had cut off an army of ſix ſcore thouſand Perſians to a man, by reaſon of the difficulty of the ways. However, having no boats to croſs the river, and the paſſage through the mountains opening into the rich plains of Armenia, they reſolved to purſue their march that way. Theſe barbarians ſoon took the alarm, but not being prepared to meet the Greeks in a body, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the tops of the rocks and mountains, and from thence annoyed them with darts and great ſtones, which they threw down into the defiles through which they paſſed, in which they were alſo attacked by ſeveral other parties; and though their loſs was not conſiderable, yet, what with ſtorms and famine, beſides ſeven tedious days march, and being continually forced to fight their way, they underwent more fatigue and hardſhip than they had ſuffered from the Perſians during the whole expedition.

They found themſelves ſoon after expoſed to new dangers. Almoſt at the foot of the mountains, they came to a river two hundred feet in breadth,

breadth, called Centrites, which ſtopped their march. They had to defend themſelves againſt the enemy, who purſued them in the rear, and Armenians, the ſoldiers of the country, who defended the oppoſite ſide of the river. They attempted in vain to paſs it in a place where the water came up to their arm-pits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, againſt which the weight of their arms made them unable to reſiſt. By good fortune they diſcovered another place not ſo deep, where ſome ſoldiers had ſeen the people of the country paſs. It required abundance of addreſs, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both ſides of them. The army, however, paſſed the river at length without much loſs.

They marched forward with leſs interruption, paſſed the ſource of the Tigris, and arrived at the little river Teleboa, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the weſtern Armenia, which was governed by Tiribaſus, a ſatrap much beloved by the king, and who had the honour to help him to mount on horſeback when at the court. He offered to let the army paſs, and to ſuffer the ſoldiers to take all they wanted, on condition that they ſhould commit no ravages upon their march; which propoſal was accepted and ratified on each ſide. Tiribaſus

kept always a flying camp at a ſmall diſtance from the army. There fell a great quantity of ſnow, which gave the troops ſome inconvenience; and they learnt from a priſoner, that Tiribaſus had a deſign to attack the Greeks at a paſs of the mountains, in a defile through which they muſt neceſſarily march. They prevented him, by ſeizing that poſt, after having put the enemy to flight. After ſome days march through the deſert, they paſſed the Euphrates near its ſource, not having the water above their middles.

They ſuffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented reſpiration; ſo that it was thought neceſſary to ſacrifice to the wind, upon which it ſeemed to abate. They marched on in ſnow five or ſix feet deep, which killed ſeveral ſervants and beaſts of burden, beſides thirty ſoldiers. They made fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day they continued their march through the ſnow, when many of them, from the exceſs of hunger, followed with languor, or fainting, continued lying upon the ground through weakneſs and want of ſpirits: when ſomething had been given them to eat, they found themſelves relieved, and continued their march.

After a march of ſeven days they arrived at the river Araxes, called alſo the Phaſus, which is about

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an hundred feet in breadth. Two days after they diſcovered the Phaſians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the paſs of the mountain to prevent their deſcending into the plain. They ſaw it was impoſſible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and reſolved to give it the ſame day. Xenophon, who had obſerved that the enemy defended only the ordinary paſſage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, propoſed the ſending a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the heights that commanded the enemy, which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all ſuſpicion of their deſign by a march in the night, and by making a falſe attack by the main road, to amuſe the barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the paſs cleared. Thus, after twelve or fifteen days march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence they deſcried the ſea. The firſt who perceived it raiſed great ſhouts of joy for a conſiderable time, which made Xenophon imagine that the vanguard was attacked, and went with all haſte to ſupport it. As he approached nearer, the cry of the ſea! the ſea! was heard diſtinctly, and the alarm changed into joy and gaiety; and when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confuſed noiſe of the whole army crying out together, the ſea! the ſea! whilſt they could not refrain from

tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers; and then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of ſtones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

From thence they advanced to the mountains of Colchis, one of which was higher than the reſt, and of that the people of the country had poſſeſſed themſelves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it to aſcend, for the acceſs was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but by files, becauſe the ſoldiers could not keep their ranks from the inequality of the ground, that in ſome places was eaſy, in others difficult to climb, which might diſcourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it. The heavy-armed troops amounted to fourſcore files, each conſiſting of about one hundred men; with eighteen hundred light-armed ſoldiers, divided in three bodies, one of which was poſted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the center. After having encouraged his troops by repreſenting to them that this was the laſt obſtacle they had to ſurmount, and having implored the aſſiſtance of the gods, the army began to aſcend the hill. The enemy were not able to ſupport their charge, and diſperſed. They paſſed the mountain and encamped

camped in villages, where they found proviſions in abundance.

A very ſtrange accident happened there to the army, which put them into great conſternation. The ſoldiers finding abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with raving fits; ſo that thoſe who were leaſt ill ſeemed like drunken men, and the reſt either furiouſly mad or dying. The earth was ſtrewed with their bodies as after a defeat; however, none of them died, and the diſtemper ceaſed the next day, about the ſame hour it had taken them. The third or fourth day the ſoldiers got up, but in the condition people are in after taking a violent medicine.

Two days after, the army arrived near Trebiſond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, ſituated upon the Euxine, or Black Sea, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themſelves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain an happy return into their own country: they alſo celebrated the games of horſe and foot races, wreſtling, boxing, the pancratium, the whole attended with the greateſt joy and ſolemnity. Here Xenophon formed a project of ſettling them in thoſe parts, and founding a Grecian colony, which was approved of by ſome; but his enemies repre-

ſenting it to the army only as a more honourable way of abandoning them, and to the inhabitants as a deſign to ſubdue and enſlave the country, he was forced to give over the enterprize. However, the noiſe of it had this good effect, that the natives did what they could in a friendly manner to procure their departure, adviſing them to go by ſea as the ſafeſt way, and furniſhed them with a ſufficient number of tranſports for that purpoſe.

Accordingly, they embarked with a fair wind, and the next day got into the harbour of Sinope, where Cheriſophus met them with ſome gallies; but inſtead of the money they had alſo expected from him, he only told them they ſhould be paid their arrears as ſoon as they got out of the Euxine Sea. But this anſwer occaſioned a good deal of murmuring and diſcontent among them; ſo that they reſolved to put themſelves under one general, deſiring Xenophon in the moſt preſſing and affectionate terms to accept of that command, which he modeſtly declined, and procured the appointment to fall upon Cheriſophus. But he enjoyed it not above ſix or ſeven days; for no ſooner were they arrived at Heraclea, than the army depoſed him, for refuſing to extort a ſum of money from the inhabitants of that city; which being a Grecian colony, Xenophon likewiſe refuſed to concern himſelf in that affair: ſo that the army being diſappointed

diſappointed in their hopes of plunder, fell into a mutiny, and divided into three bodies. When parted from their barbarian enemies, they were happily reunited and encamped at the port of Calpe, where they ſettled the command as before, ſubſtituting Neon in the room of Cheriſophus, who died here, and making it death for any man henceforward to propoſe the dividing of the army. But being ſtraitened for proviſions, they were forced to ſpread themſelves in the vallies, where Pharnabazus's horſe, being joined by the inhabitants, cut in pieces five hundred of them; the reſt eſcaping to a hill, were reſcued and brought off by Xenophon, who after this led them through a large foreſt, where Pharnabazus had poſted his troops to oppoſe their paſſage; but they entirely defeated him, and purſued their march to Chryſopolis of Chalcedon, having got a great deal of booty in their way, and from thence to Byzantium.

From thence he led them to Salmydeſſa, to ſerve Seuthes, prince of Thrace, who had before ſolicited Xenophon by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in order to his re-eſtabliſhment in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him. He had made Xenophon great promiſes for himſelf and his troops; but when he had done him the ſervice he wanted, he was ſo far

from keeping his word, that he did not give them the pay agreed upon. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with this breach of faith, imputing his perfidy to his minister Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his master by saving him a sum of money at the expence of justice, faith, and honesty, qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the most to his reputation, as well as to the success of affairs and the security of a state. But that treacherous minister, who looked upon honour, probity, and justice, as mere chimeras, and who thought that there was nothing real but the possession of much money, had no desire, in consequence, but of enriching himself by any means whatsoever, and robbed his master first with impunity, and all his subjects along with him. However, continued Xenophon, every wise man, especially in authority and command, ought to regard justice, probity, and the faith of engagements, as the most precious treasure he can possess, and as an assured resource and an infallible support in all the events that can happen. Heraclides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner with regard to the troops, as he was a native of Greece, and not a Thracian; but avarice had extinguished in this man all sense of honour.

Whilst

Whilſt the diſpute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmeſt, Charminus and Polynices arrived as ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republic had declared war againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus; that Thimbron had already embarked with the troops; and promiſed a darick a month to every ſoldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who ſhould engage in the ſervice. Xenophon accepted the offer, and having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the ambaſſadors, part of the pay due to him, he went by ſea to Lampſacus with the army, which amounted at that time to almoſt ſix thouſand men. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of Troas. Having met near Parthenia, where ended the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman returning into Perſia, he took him, his wife and children, with all his equipage, and by that means found himſelf in a condition to beſtow great liberalities amongſt the ſoldiers, and to make them a ſatisfactory amends for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained. Thimbron at length arrived, who took upon him the command of the troops; and having joined them with his own, marched againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus.

Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon, who has himſelf compoſed a moſt beautiful

tiful hiſtory on the ſubject, reckons from the firſt ſetting out of that prince's army from the city of Epheſus, to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty paraſangas, or leagues, and fourſcore and thirteen days march; and in their return from the place of battle to Corcyra, a city upon the coaſt of the Euxine, or Black Sea, ſix hundred and twenty paraſangas, or leagues, and one hundred and twenty days march; and, adding both together, he ſays, the way going and coming was eleven hundred and fifty-five paraſangas, or leagues, and two hundred and fifteen days march; and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of reſt, was fifteen months.

This retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks has always paſſed among judges of the art of war as a moſt extraordinary undertaking; and it in ſome meaſure inſpired them, ever after, with a contempt for the power of the Perſians: it taught them, that their dominions could be invaded without danger, and that marching into Perſia was but purſuing an unreſiſting enemy, that only appeared to offer victory rather than battle.

In the mean time, while Greece was gaining fame in Perſia, Athens was loſing its honour at home. Though it had now ſome breathing time to recover from its late confuſions, yet ſtill there were

were the ſeeds of rancour remaining, and the citizens oppoſed each other with unremitting malice. Socrates was the firſt object that fell a ſacrifice to theſe popular diſſentions. We have already ſeen this great man, who was the ſon of an obſcure citizen at Athens, emerging from the meanneſs of his birth, and giving examples of courage, moderation, and wiſdom; we have ſeen him ſaving the life of Alcibiades in battle, of refuſing to concur in the edict which unjuſtly doomed the ſix Athenian generals to death, of withſtanding the thirty tyrants, and of ſpurning the bigotry and perſecution of the times with the moſt acute penetration, and the moſt cauſtic raillery. He poſſeſſed unexampled good-nature, and an univerſal love to mankind; he was ready to pity vices in others, while he was, in a great meaſure, free from them himſelf; however, he knew his own defects, and if he was proud of any thing, it was in the being thought to have none. He ſeemed, ſays Libanius, the common father of the republic, ſo attentive was he to the happineſs and advantage of his whole country. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the inſtruction of youth, in order to ſow the ſeeds of virtue in a ſoil more fit to produce the fruits of it. He had

had no open ſchool, like the reſt of the philoſophers, nor ſet times for his leſſons; he had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a profeſſor's chair; he was the philoſopher of all times and ſeaſons; he taught in all places, and upon all occaſions; in walking, converſation at meals, in the army, and in the midſt of the camp, in the public aſſemblies of the ſenate or people. Such was the man whom a faction in the city had long devoted to deſtruction: he had been, for many years before his death, the object of their ſatire and ridicule. Ariſtophanes, the comic poet, was engaged to expoſe him upon the ſtage: he compoſed a piece called the Clouds, wherein he introduced the philoſopher in a baſket, uttering the moſt ridiculous abſurdities. Socrates, who was preſent at the exhibition of his own character, ſeemed not to feel the leaſt emotion; and, as ſome ſtrangers were preſent who deſired to know the original for whom the play was intended, he roſe up from his ſeat, and ſhewed himſelf during the whole repreſentation. This was the firſt blow ſtruck at him; and it was not till twenty years after that Melitus appeared in a more formal manner as his accuſer, and entered a regular proceſs againſt him. His accuſation conſiſted of two heads: the firſt was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and introduced new divinities; the

ſecond,

ſecond, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring, that ſentence of death ought to paſs againſt him. How far the whole charge affected him is not eaſy to determine: it is certain, that amidſt ſo much zeal and ſuperſtition as then reigned in Athens, he never durſt openly oppoſe the received religion, and was, therefore, forced to preſerve an outward ſhew of it; but it is very probable, from the diſcourſes he frequently held with his friends, that in his heart he deſpiſed and laughed at their monſtrous opinions and ridiculous myſteries, as having no other foundation than the fables of the poets; and that he had attained to the notion of the one only true God, inſomuch, that upon the account both of his belief of the Deity, and the exemplarineſs of his life, ſome have thought fit to rank him with the Chriſtian philoſophers.

As ſoon as the conſpiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lycias, the moſt able orator of his time, brought him an elaborate diſcourſe of his own compoſing, wherein he had ſet forth the reaſons and meaſures of Socrates in their full force, and interſperſed the whole with tender and pathetic ſtrokes, capable of moving the moſt obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleaſure, and approved it very much; but, as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetoric,

ric, than the ſentiments and fortitude of a philoſopher, he told him frankly, that it did not ſuit him. Upon which Lycias having aſked him how it was poſſible to be well done, and at the ſame time not ſuit him? In the ſame manner, ſaid he, uſing, according to his cuſtom, a vulgar compariſon, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or ſhoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which, however, would not ſuit me. He perſiſted, therefore, inflexibly in the reſolution, not to demean himſelf by begging ſuffrages in the low, abject manner, common at that time. He employed neither artifice, nor the glitter of eloquence; he had no recourſe either to ſolicitation or entreaty; he brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their ſighs and tears: nevertheleſs, though he firmly refuſed to make uſe of any other voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the ſubmiſſive poſture of a ſuppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal; it was from a noble and intrepid aſſurance, reſulting from greatneſs of ſoul, and the conſciouſneſs of his truth and innocence; ſo that his defence had nothing weak or timorous in it: his diſcourſe was bold, manly, generous; without paſſion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philoſopher, with

with no other ornament than that of truth, and brightened univerſally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was preſent, tranſcribed it afterwards, and, without any addition, formed from it the work which he calls the Apology of Socrates, one of the moſt conſummate maſter-pieces of antiquity. I ſhall here make an extract from it.

Upon the day aſſigned, the proceedings commenced in the uſual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus ſpoke. The worſe his cauſe, and the leſs provided it was with proofs, the more occaſion he had for addreſs and art to cover its weakneſs; he omitted nothing that might render the adverſe party odious; and inſtead of reaſons, which could not but fail him, he ſubſtituted the deluſive glitter of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in obſerving that he could not tell what impreſſion the diſcourſe of his accuſer might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part, he ſcarce knew how it had affected him, they had given ſuch artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, though there was not the leaſt word of truth in all they had advanced.

" I am accuſed of corrupting the youth, and of inſtilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in regard to the worſhip of the gods, as the rules of government. You know, Athenians, that I never

made it my profeſſion to teach, nor can envy, however violent againſt me, reproach me with ever having ſold my inſtructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this reſpect, which is my poverty. Always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them entire leiſure to queſtion or anſwer me. I lend myſelf to every one who is deſirous of becoming virtuous; and if, amongſt thoſe who hear me, there are any that prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be aſcribed to me. My whole employment is to perſuade the young and old againſt too much love for the body, for riches, and all other precarious things, of whatſoever nature they be; and againſt too little regard for the ſoul, which ought to be the object of their affection: for I inceſſantly urge upon you, that virtue does not proceed from riches, but, on the contrary, riches from virtue; and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their ſource in the ſame principle.

"If to ſpeak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confeſs, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deſerve to be puniſhed. If what I ſay be not true, it is moſt eaſy to convict me of my falſehood. I ſee here a great number of my diſciples; they have only

only to appear. But, perhaps, the reſerve and conſideration for a maſter who has inſtructed them, will prevent them from declaring againſt me; at leaſt their fathers, brothers, and uncles cannot, as good relations and good citizens, diſpenſe with their not ſtanding forth to demand vengeance againſt the corrupter of their ſons, brothers, and nephews. But theſe are the perſons who take upon them my defence, and intereſt themſelves in the ſucceſs of my cauſe.

" Paſs on me what ſentence you pleaſe, Athenians; but I can neither repent or change my conduct; I muſt not abandon or ſuſpend a function which God himſelf has impoſed on me. Now he has charged me with the care of inſtructing my fellow-citizens. If, after having faithfully kept all the poſts wherein I was placed by our generals at Potidæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death ſhould at this time make me abandon that in which the divine Providence has placed me, by commanding me to paſs my life in the ſtudy of philoſophy, for the inſtruction of myſelf and others; this would be a moſt criminal deſertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal as an impious man, who does not believe the gods. Should you reſolve to acquit me; for the future, I ſhould not heſitate to make anſwer, Athenians, I honour and love you;

but I ſhall chuſe rather to obey God than you, and to my lateſt breath ſhall never renounce my philoſophy, nor ceaſe to exhort and reprove you according to my cuſtom, by telling each of you, when you come in my way, My good friend and citizen of the moſt famous city in the world for wiſdom and valour, are you not aſhamed to have no other thoughts than that of amaſſing wealth and of acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, whilſt you neglect the treaſures of prudence, truth, and wiſdom, and take no pains in rendering your ſoul as good and perfect as it is capable of being?

" I am reproached with abject fear and meanneſs of ſpirit, for being ſo buſy in imparting my advice to every one in private, and for having always avoided to be preſent in your aſſemblies to give my counſels to my country. I think I have ſufficiently proved my courage and fortitude both in the field, where I have borne arms with you, and in the ſenate, where I alone oppoſed the unjuſt ſentence you pronounced againſt the ten captains, who had not taken up and interred the bodies of thoſe who were killed and drowned in the ſea-fight near the iſland of Arginuſæ; and when, upon more than one occaſion, I oppoſed the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has prevented me from appearing in your aſſemblies? It is that dæmon, that voice divine,

vine, which you have ſo often heard me mention, and Melitus has taken ſo much pains to ridicule. That ſpirit has attached itſelf to me from my infancy: it is a voice which I never hear but when it would prevent me from perſiſting in ſomething I have reſolved; for it never exhorts me to undertake any thing: it is the ſame being that has always oppoſed me when I would have intermeddled in the affairs of the republic, and that with the greateſt reaſon; for I ſhould have been amongſt the dead long ago, had I been concerned in the meaſures of the ſtate, without effecting any thing to the advantage of myſelf or our country. Do not take it ill, I beſeech you, if I ſpeak my thoughts without diſguiſe, and with truth and freedom. Every man who would generouſly oppoſe a whole people, either amongſt us or elſewhere, and who inflexibly applies himſelf to prevent the violation of the laws, and the practice of iniquity in a government, will never do ſo long with impunity. It is abſolutely neceſſary for him, who would contend for juſtice if he has any thoughts of living, to remain in a private ſtation, and never to have any ſhare in public affairs.

" For the reſt, Athenians, if, in the extreme danger I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of thoſe, who upon leſs emergencies have implored and ſupplicated their judges with tears,

and have brought forth their children, relations, and friends; it is not through pride and obſtinacy, or any contempt for you, but ſolely for your honour, and for that of the whole city. You ſhould know, that there are amongſt our citizens thoſe who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injuſtice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation, true or falſe, which I have, would it be conſiſtent for me, after all the leſſons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myſelf, and to bely in my laſt action all the principles and ſentiments of my paſt life?

" But without ſpeaking of my fame, which I ſhould extremely injure by ſuch a conduct, I do not think it allowable to intreat a judge, nor to be abſolved by ſupplications. He ought to be perſuaded and convinced. The judge does not ſit upon the bench to ſhew favour, by violating the laws, but to do juſtice in conforming to them. He does not ſwear to diſcharge with impunity whom he pleaſes, but to do juſtice where it is due: we ought not, therefore, to accuſtom you to perjury, nor you to ſuffer yourſelves to be accuſtomed to it; for, in ſo doing, both the one and the other of us equally injure juſtice and religion, and both are criminals.

" Do

" Do not, therefore, expect from me, Athenians, that I ſhould have recourſe amongſt you to means, which I believe neither honeſt nor lawful, eſpecially upon this occaſion, wherein I am accuſed of impiety by Melitus; for, if I ſhould influence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evident, that I teach you not to believe in the gods; and even in defending and juſtifying myſelf, ſhould furniſh my adverſaries with arms againſt me, and prove that I believe no Divinity. But I am very far from ſuch bad thoughts: I am more convinced of the exiſtence of God than my accuſers; and ſo convinced, that I abandon myſelf to God and you, that you may judge of me as you ſhall deem beſt for yourſelves."

Socrates pronounced this diſcourſe with a firm and intrepid tone: his air, his action, his viſage, expreſſed nothing of the accuſed; he ſeemed the maſter of his judges, from the aſſurance and greatneſs of ſoul with which he ſpoke, without however loſing any thing of the modeſty natural to him. But how ſlight ſoever the proofs were againſt him, the faction was powerful enough to find him guilty. There was the form of a proceſs againſt him, and his irreligion was the pretence upon which it was grounded, but his death was certainly a concerted thing. His ſteady uninterrupted courſe of obſti-

nate virtue, which had made him in many cafes appear ſingular, and oppoſe whatever he thought illegal or unjuſt, without any regard to times or perſons, had procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will.

By his firſt ſentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty; but when, by his anſwer, he appeared to appeal from their tribunal to that of juſtice and poſterity; when, inſtead of confeſſing himſelf guilty, he demanded rewards and honours from the ſtate, the judges were ſo very much offended, that they condemned him to drink hemlock, a method of execution then in uſe amongſt them.

Socrates received this ſentence with the utmoſt compoſure. Apollodorus, one of his diſciples, launching out into bitter invectives and lamentations that his maſter ſhould die *innocent:* "What, replied Socrates with a ſmile, would you have me die guilty? Melitus and Anytus may kill, but they cannot hurt me."

After his ſentence, he ſtill continued with the ſame ſerene and intrepid aſpect with which he had long enforced virtue, and held tyrants in awe. When he entered his priſon, which now became the reſidence of virtue and probity, his friends followed him thither, and continued to viſit him during the interval between his condemnation and death, which laſted for thirty days. The cauſe

of

of that long delay was, the Athenians ſent every year a ſhip to the iſle of Delos, to offer certain ſacrifices, and it was prohibited to put any perſon to death in the city from the time the prieſt of Apollo had crowned the poop of this veſſel as a ſignal of its departure, till the ſame veſſel ſhould return: ſo that ſentence having been paſſed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was neceſſary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had ſufficient opportunities to preſent itſelf before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his conſtancy to the proof, not only by the ſevere rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual proſpect and cruel expectation of an event of which nature is always abhorrent. In this ſad condition he did not ceaſe to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind which his friends had always admired in him. He entertained them with the ſame temper he had always expreſſed; and Crito obſerves, that the evening before his death, he ſlept as peaceably as at any other time. He compoſed alſo an hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of Æſop's fables into verſe.

The day before, or the ſame day that the ſhip was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito,

his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning, to let him know that bad news, and, at the ſame time, that it depended only upon himſelf to quit the priſon; that the jailor was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a ſafe retreat in Theſſaly. Socrates laughed at this propoſal, and aſked him, whether he knew any place out of Attica where people did not die? Crito urged the thing very ſeriouſly, and preſſed him to take the advantage of ſo precious an opportunity, adding argument upon argument, to induce his conſent, and to engage him to reſolve upon eſcape: without mentioning the inconſolable grief he ſhould ſuffer for the death of ſuch a friend, how ſhould he ſupport the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe it was in his power to have ſaved him, but that he would not ſacrifice a ſmall part of his wealth for that purpoſe: can the people ever be perſuaded that ſo wiſe a man as Socrates would not quit his priſon, when he might do it with all poſſible ſecurity? Perhaps he might fear to expoſe his friends, or to occaſion the loſs of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty: ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preſervation of Socrates? Even ſtrangers themſelves diſpute that honour with them, many of whom have come expreſsly with conſiderable ſums of money to purchaſe

chaſe his eſcape, and declare that they ſhould think themſelves highly honoured to receive him amongſt them, and to ſupply him abundantly with all he ſhould have occaſion for: ought he to abandon himſelf to enemies who have occaſioned his being condemned unjuſtly; and can he think it allowable to betray his own cauſe? is it not eſſential to his goodneſs and juſtneſs to ſpare his fellow citizens the guilt of innocent blood; but if all theſe motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himſelf, can he be inſenſible to the intereſts of his children? In what a condition does he leave them: and can he forget the father, to remember only the philoſopher?

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praiſed his zeal, and expreſſed his gratitude; but before he could give into his opinion, was for examining whether it was juſt for him to depart out of priſon without the conſent of the Athenians. The queſtion, therefore, here is, to know whether a man condemned to die, though unjuſtly, can without a crime eſcape from juſtice and the laws. Socrates held it was unjuſt; and therefore nobly refuſed to eſcape from priſon. He reverenced the laws of his country, and reſolved to obey them in all things, even in his death.

At length the fatal ſhip returned to Athens, which was, in a manner, the ſignal for the death of Socrates.

Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was ſick, repaired to the priſon early in the morning. The jailor deſired them to wait a little, becauſe the eleven magiſtrates (who had the direction of the priſons) were at that time ſignifying to the priſoner that he was to die the ſame day. Preſently after they entered, and found Socrates, whoſe chains had been taken off, ſitting by Xantippe, his wife, who held one of his children in her arms; as ſoon as ſhe perceived them, ſetting up great cries, ſobbing, and tearing her face and hair, ſhe made the priſon reſound with her complaints. Oh, my dear Socrates! your friends are come to ſee you this day for the laſt time! He deſired ſhe might be taken away; and ſhe was immediately carried home.

Socrates paſſed the reſt of the day with his friends, and diſcourſed with them with his uſual chearfulneſs and tranquillity. The ſubject of converſation was the moſt important, and adapted to the preſent conjuncture; that is to ſay, the immortality of the ſoul. What gave occaſion to this diſcourſe was, a queſtion introduced in a manner by chance, Whether a true philoſopher ought not to deſire, and take pains to die? This propoſition taken too literally, implied an opinion, that a philoſopher might kill himſelf. Socrates ſhews, that nothing is more unjuſt than this notion; and that man appertaining

ing to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the poſt he poſſeſſes, cannot abandon it without his permiſſion, nor depart from life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philoſopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happineſs which he expects in another life; and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the ſoul's immortality.

Socrates employed the laſt day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important ſubject; from which converſation Plato's admirable dialogue, entitled the Phædon, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the ſoul immortal, and refutes all the objections againſt it, which are very nearly the ſame as are made at this day.

When Socrates had done ſpeaking, Crito deſired him to give him, and the reſt of his friends, his laſt inſtructions in regard to his children and other affairs, that by executing them they might have the conſolation of doing him ſome pleaſure. I ſhall recommend nothing to you this day, replied Socrates, more than I have already done, which is, to take care of yourſelves. You cannot do yourſelves a greater ſervice, nor do me and my family a greater pleaſure. Crito having aſked him afterwards in what manner he thought fit to

be

be buried:—As you pleaſe, ſaid Socrates, if you can lay hold of me, and I eſcape not out of your hands. At the ſame time, looking on his friends with a ſmile, I can never perſuade Crito, that Socrates is he who converſes with you, and diſpoſes the ſeveral parts of his diſcourſe, for he always imagines that I am what he is going to ſee dead in a little while; he confounds me with my carcaſe, and therefore aſks me how I would be interred. On finiſhing theſe words he roſe up, and went to bathe himſelf in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath his children were brought to him; for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He ſpoke to them for ſome time, gave his orders to the women who took care of them, and then diſmiſſed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid himſelf down upon his bed.

The ſervant of the eleven entered at the ſame inſtant, and having informed him that the time for drinking the hemlock was come (which was at ſunſet), the ſervant was ſo much afflicted with ſorrow, that he turned his back, and fell a weeping. See, ſaid Socrates, the good heart of this man: ſince my impriſonment he has often come to ſee me, and to converſe with me; he is more worthy than all his fellows; how heartily the poor man weeps for me. This is a remarkable example, and might teach

teach thoſe in an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all priſoners, but more eſpecially to perſons of merit, when they are ſo unhappy as to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates aſked what it was neceſſary for him to do? Nothing more, replied the ſervant, than as ſoon as you have drank off the draught to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down upon your bed. He took the cup without any emotion, or change in his colour or countenance; and, regarding the man with a ſteady and aſſured look—"Well," ſaid he, "what ſay you of this drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told there was only enough for one doſe:—"At leaſt," continued he, "we may ſay our prayers to the gods, as it is our duty, and implore them to make our exit from this world, and our laſt ſtage happy, which is what I moſt ardently beg of them." After having ſpoke theſe words he kept ſilence for ſome time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity and ſerenity of aſpect, not to be expreſſed or conceived.

Till then his friends, with great violence to themſelves, had refrained from tears; but after he had drank the potion, they were no longer their own maſters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears almoſt the whole converſation, began then to raiſe great cries, and to lament with ſuch

ſuch exceſſive grief, as pierced the hearts of all that were preſent. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his uſual mildneſs and good nature. "What are you doing?" ſaid he to them: "I wonder at you! Oh! what is become of your virtue? Was it not for this I ſent away the women, that they might not fall into theſe weakneſſes; for I have always heard you ſay that we ought to die peaceably, and bleſſing the gods. Be at eaſe, I beg you, and ſhew more conſtancy and reſolution." He then obliged them to reſtrain their tears.

In the mean time, he kept walking to and fro; and when he found his legs grow weary, he laid down upon his back, as he had been directed.

The poiſon then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered, without doubt to prevent any thing from diſturbing him in his laſt moments,—"Crito," ſaid he, "we owe a cock to Æſculapius; diſcharge that vow for me, and pray do not forget it." Soon after which he breathed his laſt. Crito went to his body, and cloſed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates, in the firſt year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, and the ſeventieth of his age.

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It was not till ſome time after the death of this great man that the people of Athens perceived their miſtake, and began to repent of it: their hatred being ſatisfied, their prejudices expired, and time having given them an opportunity for reflection, the notorious injuſtice of the ſentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but diſcourſes in favour of Socrates. The Academy, the Lycæum, private houſes, public walks, and market-places ſeemed ſtill to re-echo the ſound of his loved voice. "Here," ſaid they, "he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place he gave us his admirable leſſons, and ſometimes made us ſeaſonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the purſuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for ſuch important ſervices!" Athens was in univerſal mourning and conſternation: the ſchools were ſhut up, and all exerciſes ſuſpended. The accuſers were called to account for the innocent blood they had cauſed to be ſhed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the reſt baniſhed. Plutarch obſerves, that all thoſe who had any ſhare in this black calumny were held in ſuch abomination amongſt the citizens, that no one would give them fire, anſwer them any queſtion, nor go into the ſame bath with them, and they had the place cleaned

cleaned where they had bathed, leſt they ſhould be polluted by touching it; which drove them into ſuch deſpair, that many of them killed themſelves.

The Athenians, not contented with having puniſhed his accuſers, cauſed a ſtatue of braſs to be erected to him, of the workmanſhip of the celebrated Lyſippus, and placed it in one of the moſt conſpicuous parts of the city. Their reſpect and gratitude roſe even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demigod, which they called the chapel of Socrates.

CHAP. XII.

From the Death of Socrates, to the Death of Epaminondas.

HITHERTO we have purſued the Athenians, both in their ſucceſſes and their defeats, with peculiar attention. While they took the lead in the affairs of Greece, it was neceſſary to place them on the fore-ground of the picture; but we muſt now change the ſcene; and, leaving them to act an obſcure part, go to thoſe ſtates who ſucceſſively took the lead after their downfal.

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The Spartans ſeem to be the firſt ſtate, after the Athenians, that gave laws to the reſt of the Greeks; their old jealouſies began to revive againſt the petty ſtates that had formerly ſided againſt them: and the Eleans were the firſt upon whom they fell, under a pretence that they (the Spartans) had not been admitted by that ſtate to the Olympic games, as well as the reſt of the Grecians. The Eleans having formerly declared war, and being upon the point of plundering the city of Elis, were taken into the alliance of Sparta, and the conquerors now aſſumed and enjoyed the title of the Protectors and Arbitrators of Greece. Soon after, Ageſilaus, who was choſen king of Sparta, was ſent into Aſia with an army, under pretence of freeing the Grecian cities. He gained a ſignal victory over Tiſſaphernes, near the river Pactolus, where he forced the enemy's camp, and found conſiderable plunder. This ſucceſs induced the Perſian monarch, inſtead of meeting Ageſilaus openly in the field, to ſubvert his intereſt among the Grecian ſtates by the power of bribery; and indeed this confederacy was now ſo weakened, its concord and unanimity ſo totally deſtroyed, that they were open to every offer: the love of money was now rooted in their affections; and the Spartans were the only people that, for a while, ſeemed to diſdain it: but the contagion ſtill ſpreading, even they, at laſt, yielded

to its allurements; and every man ſought private emolument, without attending to the good of his country.

The Thebans, as they were the firſt that were gained over to the Perſian intereſt, ſo they were the moſt active in promoting it. To ſtrengthen their alliance, they ſent Ambaſſadors to the Athenians, with a long repreſentation of the preſent poſture of affairs, wherein they artfully inſinuated their zeal and affection to that ſtate; from thence they took occaſion to inveigh againſt the tyranny of Sparta; and concluded with telling them, that now was the time to throw off the yoke, and to recover their former ſplendor and authority. The Athenians, though they had no ſhare of the Perſian money, needed not many arguments to engage them in a rupture of this kind, for which they had been long waiting a fit opportunity.

Ageſilaus, who had carried on the war in Perſia with ſucceſs, received news of the war being again broke out in Greece, with orders, at the ſame time, for him to return home. He had ſet his heart upon the entire conqueſt of Perſia, and was preparing to march farther into the country; but ſuch was his deference to the laws, and ſuch his ſubmiſſion to the Ephori, that he inſtantly obeyed their mandate; but left four thouſand men in Aſia, to maintain his ſucceſſes there. The Spartans, however,

however, could not wait his arrival; they found confederacies thickening on their hands, and they were ready to be attacked on all ſides. The Athenians, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, and Eubœans, joined againſt them, and made up a body of twenty-four thouſand men; both ſides encamped near Sicyon, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and ſoon came to a regular engagement. The Spartan allies at firſt were entirely routed; but the Spartans themſelves turned the ſcale of victory by their ſingle valour, and came off conquerors with the loſs of but eight men. This victory, however, was in ſome meaſure overbalanced by a loſs at ſea, which the Spartans ſuſtained near Cnidus. Conon, the Athenian general, being appointed to command the Perſian fleet againſt them, took fifty of their ſhips, and purſued the reſt into port. Ageſilaus, on the other had, obtained a conſiderable victory over the Athenians and their allies upon the plains of Coronea. Thus was the war continued by furious but undeciſive engagements, in which neither ſide was a gainer; and in this manner did the Spartans maintain themſelves and their allies, without any conſiderable increaſe or diminution of their power. In this general ſhock, the Athenians ſeemed for a while to recover their former ſpirit; being aſſiſted by Perſian money, and conducted by Conon, an excellent general,

they took the field with ardour, and even rebuilt the walls of their city. From the mutual jealouſies of theſe petty ſtates among each other, all were weakened, and the Perſian monarch became arbitrator of Greece. In this manner, after a fluctuation of ſucceſſes and intrigues, all parties began to grow tired of a war, and a peace enſued: this peace was concluded in the ſecond year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad; and from the many ſtipulations in favour of Perſia, Plutarch terms it, The reproach and ruin of Greece.

The Spartans, thus freed from the terrors of a powerful foreign enemy, went on to ſpread terror among the petty ſtates of Greece: they gave peremptory orders to the Mantineans to throw down their walls, and compelled them to obedience. They obliged the Corinthians to withdraw the garriſon from Argoſi; and ſome other ſtates they treated with an air of ſuperiority, that plainly marked that they expected obedience. They marched againſt the Olynthians, who had lately grown into power, and effectually ſubdued them. They interpoſed alſo in a domeſtic quarrel which was carried on at Thebes. Phæbidas having ſeized upon the citadel, they turned him out, and placed a garriſon of their own in that fortreſs. They then procured articles to be exhibited againſt Iſmenias his antagoniſt, for having taken money of

the Perſians, and for holding intelligence with them; and alſo for having been a principal promoter of their inteſtine broils: upon which he underwent a formal trial before the commiſſioners deputed from Sparta, and one from each of the other great cities of Greece, and was condemned to death. Thus, having ſecured Thebes, and having by a tedious war humbled the Olynthians, they went on to chaſtiſe the Phliaſians, for having abuſed ſome exiles that had been reſtored by the orders of Sparta. In this manner they continued diſtributing their orders with pride and ſeverity; no ſtate of Greece was able to oppoſe their authority; and, under the colour of executing juſtice, they were hourly paving the way to ſupreme command. In the midſt of this ſecurity, they were alarmed from a quarter where they leaſt expected to find oppoſition. The Thebans had, for four years ſince the ſeizing of their citadel, ſubmitted to the Spartan yoke; but they now took occaſion, by a very deſperate attempt, to throw it off: for which purpoſe, there was a ſecret correſpondence carried on between the moſt conſiderable of the Theban exiles at Athens, and thoſe who were well affected to them in Thebes; and meaſures were conducted between them by Phyllidas, ſecretary to the Theban governors, by whoſe contrivance a competent number of the exiles were to get into

the city; and Charon, a man of the firſt rank there, offered his houſe for their reception. The day being fixed, they ſet out from Athens; and twelve of the moſt active and reſolute among them were detached to enter the city, the reſt remaining at a proper diſtance, to wait the event. The firſt who offered himſelf was Pelopidas, who was young and daring, and had been very zealous in encouraging the deſign; and, by the ſhare he had in it, gave a ſufficient earneſt of what might be further expected from him in the ſervice of his country. The next man of conſequence was Mellon, who, by ſome, is ſaid to have firſt projected the ſcheme with Phyllidas. Theſe two, with their ten aſſociates, dreſſed themſelves like peaſants, and beat about the fields with dogs and hunting-poles, as in ſearch of game. Having thus paſſed unſuſpected, and conveyed themſelves into the city, they met at Charon's houſe, as the general rendezvous, where they were ſoon after joined by thirty-ſix more of their confederates. It was concerted, that Phyllidas ſhould, on that day, give a great entertainment to Archias and Philip, the two governors who were appointed by the Spartans; and, to make it the more complete, he had engaged to provide ſome of the fineſt women in the town to give them a meeting. Matters being thus prepared, the aſſociates divided themſelves into

two

two bands; one of which, led by Charon and Mellon, were to attack Archias and his company; and having put on women's clothes over their armour, with pine and poplar, over their heads, to ſhade their faces, they took their opportunity, when the gueſts were well heated with wine, to enter the room, and immediately ſtabbed Archias and Philip, with ſuch others of the company as were pointed out to them by Phyllidas. A little before this execution, Archias received an expreſs from Athens, with all the particulars of the conſpiracy; and the courier conjured him, in the name of the perſon who wrote the letters, that he ſhould read them forthwith, for that they contained matter of great importance. But he laid them by unopened; and with a ſmile, ſaid, "Buſineſs to-morrow:" which words, upon that occaſion, grew into a proverb. The other band, headed by Pelopidas and Democlides, went to attack Leontidas, who was at home, and in bed. They ruſhed into his houſe by ſurprize; but he, ſoon taking the alarm, leaped up, and, with his ſword in his hand, received them at his chamber-door, and ſtabbed Cephiſodorus, who was the firſt man that attempted to enter. Pelopidas was the next who encountered him; and, after a long and difficult diſpute, killed him. From hence they went in purſuit of Hypates, his friend and neighbour, and

diſpatched him likewiſe: after which they joined the other band, and ſent to haſten the exiles they had left in Attica.

The whole city was by this time filled with terror and confuſion; the houſes full of lights, and the inhabitants running to and fro in the ſtreets, in a wild, diſtracted manner, and waiting impatiently for day-light, that they might diſtinguiſh their friends from their foes, ſeemed undetermined what courſe to take. Early in the morning, the exiles came in armed; and Pelopidas appeared with his party, in a general aſſembly of the people, encompaſſed by the prieſts, carrying garlands in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the Thebans in general, and exhorting them to fight for their gods and their country; for though they had made ſuch a proſperous beginning, the moſt difficult part ſtill remained, whilſt the citadel was in the poſſeſſion of the Spartans, with a garriſon of fifteen hundred men, beſides a great number of citizens and others, who had fled to them for protection, and declared themſelves on their ſide.

Early the next morning, the Athenians ſent five thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to the aſſiſtance of Pelopidas: ſeveral other bodies of troops alſo came in from all the cities of Bœotia; ſo that the citadel being hemmed round, and deſpairing

ſpairing of ſuccours from without, ſurrendered at diſcretion.

The Thebans having thus acquired their freedom, the Spartans were reſolved, at any rate, to take the lead in the affairs of Greece; and having incenſed the ſtates beyond meaſure, attempted to ſeize upon Pyræus, and thus made the Athenians their irreconcileable enemies. Ageſilaus was pitched upon to command the army that was to humble the Grecian ſtates. His name ſtruck a terror into the Thebans; and his forces, which amounted to near twenty thouſand men, increaſed their fears. The Thebans, therefore, inſtead of attempting to attack, were contented to ſtand upon their defence, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a hill near the city. Ageſilaus detached a party of light armed men, to provoke them to come down and give him battle; which they declining, he drew out his whole forces, in order to attack them. Chabrias, who commanded the mercenaries on the part of the Thebans, ordered his men to preſent themſelves, and keep their ranks in cloſe order, with their ſhields laid down at their feet, their ſpears advanced, one leg put forward, and the knee upon the half-bend. Ageſilaus finding them prepared in this manner to receive him, and that they ſtood, as it were, in defiance of him, thought fit to withdraw his army, and contented himſelf with

with ravaging the country. This was looked upon as an extraordinary ſtratagem, and Chabrias valued himſelf ſo much upon it, that he procured his ſtatue to be erected in that poſture.

Thus, through a ſucceſſion of engagements, both by ſea and land, the Spartans having provoked a powerful confederacy, grew every day weaker, and their enemies more daring. The Thebans continually grew bolder; and, inſtead of continuing to defend themſelves with difficulty, attacked the enemy with courage, and ſucceſs. Though the battles fought between theſe ſtates were neither regular nor deciſive, yet they were ſuch as ſerved to raiſe the courage of the Thebans, to gain them confidence, and to form them for thoſe great undertakings which were ſhortly to follow. Pelopidas, who headed them at the battle of Tanagra, ſlew the Spartan commander with his own hand. At the battle of Tegyra, with very unequal forces, he put a large body of the enemy to flight.

As it was this battle in which Pelopidas firſt diſplayed the ſuperiority of his military talents, and as it was it, alſo, that firſt convinced the Grecian ſtates that true martial ſpirit may riſe and flouriſh in other regions beſides thoſe that lie on the banks of the Eurotas, it cannot but be deemed a very intereſting and important one. Pelopidas had come to a reſolution of attacking Orchomenus, which was garriſoned

ſoned by the Spartans; he therefore marched againſt it with an army, conſiſting of three hundred foot, and forty horſe; but, upon hearing that a large body of Spartans were haſtening to its relief, he thought it prudent to retire. In his retreat he fell in with this reinforcement, near Tegyra, and finding a battle inevitable, he propoſed to engage them. He ordered his horſe to begin the attack: his foot, which he had ranged in a maſterly manner, he led up with all poſſible ſpeed to ſupport the horſe. The action now became general, and was ſupported with animoſity and vigour on both ſides. Gorgoleon, however, and Theopompus, who commanded the Spartans, falling early in the engagement, thoſe who fought near to them were either ſlain or put to flight; and that ſtruck ſuch a terror into the minds of the reſt of their troops, that they retired immediately to either ſide, opening a paſſage for the Thebans to proſecute their march. But a ſafe retreat was not the ſole object of Pelopidas's wiſhes: the recent ſucceſs of his arms ſtimulated him to attempt ſomething of higher moment; he therefore drew up his men afreſh, renewed the battle, and, after much ſlaughter of the enemy, thoroughly routed and diſperſed them. The Thebans thus gained more reputation and advantage from their retreat, than they could have gained by the moſt complete ſucceſs in their original

nal deſign of attacking Orchomenus. This defeat was the moſt ſignal diſgrace with which the Spartans had ever met. Hitherto they had never known what it was to yield even to an equal army. At Tegyra they were vanquiſhed by a force not one third of their own. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that theſe three hundred foot were the flower and pride of the Theban army. They were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *The Sacred Battalion.* They were as remarkable for their fidelity to each other, as for their ſtrength and courage; they were linked by the bonds of common friendſhip, and were ſworn to ſtand by each other in the moſt dangerous extremities. Thus united, they became invincible, and generally turned the ſcale of victory in their favour, for a ſucceſſion of years, until they were at laſt cut down, as one man, by the Macedonian phalanx under Philip.

A peace of ſhort continuance followed theſe ſucceſſes of the Thebans; but they ſoon fell into tumults and ſeditions again. The inhabitants of Xacinthus and Corcyra having expelled their magiſtrates, put themſelves under the protection of Athens, and repulſed the Spartans, who attempted to reſtore their magiſtrates by force.

About the ſame time, the inhabitants of Platæa applying to their old friends the Athenians for their protection and alliance, the Thebans took offence

offence at it, and demoliſhed the town; and ſoon after did the ſame by Theſpiæ. The Athenians were ſo highly incenſed at the treatment of thoſe two cities, which had deſerved ſo well of the common cauſe in the Perſian war, that they would act no longer in conjunction with the Thebans; and, upon their breaking with them, the affairs of Greece took a new and unexpected turn.

It now began to appear that the Thebans were growing into power; and while Sparta and Athens were weakening each other by mutual conteſts, this ſtate, which had enjoyed all the emoluments without any of the expences of the war, was every day growing more vigorous and independent. The Thebans, who now began to take the lead in the affairs of Greece, were naturally a hardy and robuſt people, of ſlow intellects, and ſtrong conſtitutions. It was a conſtant maxim with them, to ſide either with Athens or Sparta in their mutual conteſts; and which ſoever they inclined to, they were generally of weight enough to turn the balance. However, they had hitherto made no further uſe of that weight than to ſecure themſelves; but the ſpirit which now appeared among them was firſt implanted by Pelopidas, their deliverer from the Spartan yoke; but ſtill further carried to its utmoſt height by Epaminondas, who now began to figure in the affairs of Greece.

Epami-

Epaminondas was one of thoſe few exalted characters, who have ſcarce any vice, and almoſt every virtue, to diſtinguiſh them from the reſt of mankind. Though in the beginning poſſeſſed of every quality neceſſary for the ſervice of the ſtate, he choſe to lead a private life, employed in the ſtudy of philoſophy, and ſhewing an example of the moſt rigid obſervance of all its doctrines.

Truly a philoſopher, and poor out of taſte, he deſpiſed riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and, if Juſtin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always againſt his will that commands were conferred upon him; and he behaved himſelf, when inveſted with them, in ſuch a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities did to him.

Though poor himſelf, and without any eſtate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the eſteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great neceſſity, Epaminondas ſent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to aſk him for a thouſand crowns in his name: that rich man coming to his houſe, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon ſuch an errand,—"Why," replied Epaminondas, "it is becauſe this honeſt man is in want, and you are rich." Fond of leiſure,

which he devoted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, he ſhunned public employments, and made no intereſt but to be excluded from them. His moderation concealed him ſo well, that he lived obſcure, and almoſt unknown. His merit, however, diſcovered him at laſt. He was taken from his ſolitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonſtrated, that philoſophy, though generally held in contempt by thoſe who aſpire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully uſeful in forming heroes; for it was, in his opinion, a great advance towards conquering an enemy, to know how to conquer one's ſelf. In the ſchools of philoſophy anciently were taught the great maxims of true policy; the rules of every kind of duty; the motives for a true diſcharge of them; what we owe to our country; the right uſe of authority; wherein true courage conſiſts; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, ſtateſman, and great captain; and in all theſe Epaminondas excelled.

He poſſeſſed all the ornaments of the mind. He had the talent of ſpeaking in perfection, and was well verſed in the moſt ſublime ſciences; but a modeſt reſerve threw a veil over all thoſe excellent qualities, which ſtill augmented their value, and of which he knew not what it was to be oſtentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, ſaid, That

That he never had met with a man who knew more, and ſpoke leſs.

Such was the general appointed to command the Theban army, and act in conjunction with Pelopidas, with whom he had the moſt perfect and the moſt diſintereſted friendſhip. This ſtate being left out in the general treaty of peace, and thus having the Spartans and Athenians confederated againſt it, they appeared under the utmoſt conſternation, and all Greece looked upon them as loſt and undone. The Spartans ordered levies to be made in all parts of Greece that ſided with them; and Cleombrotus, their general, marched towards the frontiers of Bœotia, ſecure of victory. Willing, however, to give his hoſtilities an air of juſtice, he ſent to demand of the Thebans, that they ſhould reſtore the cities that they had uſurped, to their liberties; that they ſhould rebuild thoſe they had demoliſhed before, and make reſtitution for all their former wrongs. To this it was replied, "That the Thebans were accountable to none but heaven for their conduct." Nothing now remained, on both ſides, but to prepare for action. Epaminondas immediately raiſed all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to ſix thouſand men; and the enemy had above four times that number. As ſeveral bad omens were urged to prevent his ſetting out, he replied

replied only by a verſe from Homer, of which the ſenſe is, There is but one good omen—to fight for one's country. However, to reaſſure the ſoldiers, by nature ſuperſtitious, and whom he obſerved to be diſcouraged, he inſtructed ſeveral perſons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the ſpirit and hopes of his troops.

Epaminondas had wiſely taken care to ſecure a paſs, which would have ſhortened Cleombrotus's march conſiderably. The latter, after having taken a large compaſs, arrived at Leuctra, a ſmall town of Bœotia, between Platæa and Theſpiæ. Both parties conſulted whether they ſhould give battle, which Cleombrotus reſolved to do, by the advice of his officers; who repreſented to him, that if he declined fighting with ſuch a ſuperiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he ſecretly favoured the Thebans. The former had an eſſential reaſon for haſtening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected: however, the ſix generals who formed the council of war, differing in their ſentiments, the ſeventh, who was Pelopidas, came in very good time to join the three that were for fighting; and his opinion carrying the queſtion, the battle was reſolved upon.

The two armies were very unequal in number: that of the Lacedæmonians, as has been ſaid, conſiſted of twenty-four thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe; the Thebans had only ſix thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience in war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, compoſed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill diſciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as ſuperior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been ſaid, having engaged in the war with reluctance, becauſe they did not approve the motive of it, and being beſides diſſatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals of either ſide ſupplied the place of numerous armies, eſpecially of the Theban, who was the moſt accompliſhed ſoldier of his times. He was ſupported by Pelopidas, with whom he had formerly fought and bled, and who was then at the head of the Sacred Battalion, compoſed of three hundred Thebans, united in a ſtrict friendſhip and affection, and engaged, under a particular oath, never to fly, but to defend each other to the laſt.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, at the

the head of a body conſiſting of Lacedæmonians, in whom he confided moſt, and whoſe files were twelve feet deep: to take the advantage which his ſuperiority of horſe gave him in an open country, he poſted them in front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who reſolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in perſon, ſtrengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep: the Sacred Battalion was upon his left, and cloſed the wing; the reſt of his infantry were poſted upon his right, in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more diſtant from the enemy. By this uncommon diſpoſition, his deſign was to cover his flank on the right; to keep off his right wing, as a kind of reſerved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakeſt part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his beſt troops were poſted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was aſſured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, the reſt of the army would ſoon be put to the rout. As for his horſe, he diſpoſed them, after the enemy's example, in the front of his left.

The action began with the cavalry. As the Thebans were better mounted, and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horſe, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into ſome confuſion. Epaminondas, following his horſe cloſe, marched ſwiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diverſion, detached a body of troops, with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to ſurround him. Pelopidas, upon ſight of that movement, advanced with incredible ſpeed and boldneſs, at the head of the Sacred Battalion, to prevent the enemy's deſign, and flanked Cleombrotus himſelf, who, by that ſudden and unexpected attack, was put into diſorder. The battle was very fierce and obſtinate; and whilſt Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in ſuſpenſe, and declared for neither party. But when he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the ſhame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great ſlaughter enſued on both ſides. The Spartans fought with ſo much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by ſo glorious an advantage, they propoſed to return to the charge, which would, perhaps, have

have proved ſucceſsful, had the allies ſeconded their ardour; but the left wing ſeeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx broken, and believing all loſt, eſpecially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the reſt of the army. Epaminondas followed them vigorouſly, and killed a great number in the purſuit. The Thebans remained maſters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received ſuch a blow. The moſt bloody defeat, till then, had ſcarce ever coſt them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. Here they loſt four thouſand men, of whom one thouſand were Lacedæmonians, and four hundred Spartans out of ſeven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were four of their citizens.

The city of Sparta was at that time celebrating the Gymnaſtic games, and was full of ſtrangers, whom curioſity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly ſenſible of all the conſequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the repreſentations of the theatre to be ſuſpended, nor any changes in the celebration

of the feſtival. They ſent to every family the names of their relations who were killed, and ſtaid in the theatre to ſee that the dances and games were continued, without interruption, to the end. It is not eaſy to determine whether we ought to aſcribe this ſupine and unprecedented conduct of the Ephori to their deſire of concealing from the people the deſperate ſtate in which their affairs then were, or to that luxury and diſſipation which had begun to corrupt even Sparta itſelf.

The next day, in the morning, the loſs of each family being known, the fathers and relations of thoſe who had died in the battle, met in the public place, and ſaluted and embraced each other with great joy and ſerenity in their looks, whilſt the others kept themſelves cloſe in their houſes; or if neceſſity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a ſadneſs and dejection of aſpect, which ſenſibly expreſſed their anguiſh and affliction. That difference was ſtill more remarkable in the women: grief, ſilence, tears, diſtinguiſhed thoſe who expected the return of their ſons; but ſuch as had loſt their ſons were ſeen hurrying to the temple, to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune.

One great point under immediate conſideration, was concerning thoſe who had fled out of the battle. They were, by the law in that caſe, to be degraded

degraded from all honour, and rendered infamous, inſomuch, that it was a diſgrace to intermarry with them: they were to appear publicly in mean and dirty habits, with patched and party-coloured garments, and to go half ſhaved; and whoever met them in the ſtreets might inſult and beat them, and they were not to make any reſiſtance. This was ſo ſevere a law, and ſuch numbers had incurred the penalties of it, many of whom were of great families and intereſt, that they apprehended the execution of it might occaſion ſome public commotions; beſides, that theſe citizens, ſuch as they were, could very ill be ſpared at this time, when they wanted to recruit the army. Under this difficulty they gave Ageſilaus a power even over the laws, to diſpenſe with them, to abrogate them, or to enact ſuch new ones as the preſent exigency required. He would not aboliſh, or make any variation in the law itſelf; but made a public declaration, That it ſhould lie dormant for that ſingle day, but revive and be in full force again on the morrow, and by that expedient he ſaved the citizens from infamy.

So great a victory was followed by inſtantaneous effects: numbers of the Grecian ſtates, that had hitherto remained neuter, now declared in favour of the conquerors, and increaſed their army to the amount of ſeventy thouſand men. Epaminondas

entered Laconia with an army, the twelfth part of which were not Thebans; and, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, he ran through it with fire and ſword, deſtroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas.

The river was, at that time, very much ſwoln by the melting of the ſnow; and the Thebans found more difficulty in paſſing it than they expected, as well from the rapidity as the extreme coldneſs of the water. As Epaminondas was paſſing at the head of his infantry, ſome of the Spartans ſhewed him to Ageſilaus, who, after having attentively conſidered and followed him with his eyes a long time, could not help crying out, in admiration of his valour, *Oh! the wonder-working man!* The Theban general, however, contented himſelf with over-running the country, without attempting any thing upon Sparta, and, entering Arcadia, reinſtated it in all its former privileges and liberties. The Lacedæmonians had, ſome time before, ſtripped the harmleſs natives of all their poſſeſſions, and obliged them to take refuge among ſtrangers. Their country was equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the beſt in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were diſperſed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the firſt notice given them, returned with incredible joy, animated by the love of their country, natural to all men; and almoſt

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as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which length of time had only increaſed. They built themſelves a city, which, from the ancient name, was called Meſſene.

After performing ſuch ſignal exploits, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, the Theban generals, once more returned home, not to ſhare the triumph and acclamations of their fellow-citizens, but to anſwer the accuſations that were laid againſt them; they were now both ſummoned as criminals againſt the ſtate, for having retained their poſts four months beyond the time limited by law. This offence was capital by the laws of Thebes; and thoſe who ſtood up for the conſtitution, were very earneſt in having it obſerved with punctuality. Pelopidas was the firſt cited before the tribunal: he defended himſelf with leſs force and greatneſs of mind, than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, which was haughty and intrepid in fight, forſook him before his judges. His air and diſcourſe, which had ſomething timid and low in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the leaſt incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him, not without difficulty. Epaminondas, on the contrary, appeared with all the confidence of conſcious innocence; inſtead of juſtifying himſelf, he enumerated his actions; he repeated, in haughty terms,

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in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-eſtabliſhed Meſſenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with ſaying, That he ſhould die with pleaſure, if the Thebans would renounce the ſole glory of thoſe actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he uſed to return from battle, with glory and univerſal applauſe. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner ſeizes the admiration of mankind by force. This manner of reproaching them had ſo good an effect, that his enemies declined any further proſecution; and he, with his colleague, were honourably acquitted. His enemies, however, jealous of his glory, with a deſign to affront him, cauſed him to be elected the city ſcavenger; he accepted the place with thanks, and declared, That inſtead of deriving honour from his office, he would give it dignity in his turn.

In the mean time, the Spartans, ſtruck with conſternation at their late defeats, applied to the Athenians for ſuccour; who, after ſome heſitation, determined to aſſiſt them with all their forces; and a ſlight advantage the Spartans had gained over the Arcadians, in which they did not loſe a man, gave a promiſing dawn of ſucceſs. The Perſian king was alſo applied to for aſſiſtance in the confederacy

ſederacy againſt Thebes; but Pelopidas, undertaking an embaſſy to that court, fruſtrated their purpoſe, and induced that great monarch to ſtand neuter.

Thebes being thus rid of ſo powerful an enemy, had leſs fears of withſtanding the confederacy of Sparta and Athens; but a new and an unexpected power was now growing up againſt them; a power which was one day about to ſwallow up the liberties of Greece, and give laws to all mankind.

Some years before this, Jaſon, the king of Pheræ, was choſen general of the Theſſalians, by the conſent of the people; he was at the head of an army of eight thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning light infantry; and might have undertaken any thing with ſuch a body of well-diſciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their commander. Death prevented his deſigns; he was aſſaſſinated by perſons who had long before conſpired his deſtruction. His two brothers, Polydorus and Poliphron, were ſubſtituted in his place. Againſt him Pelopidas was ſent. The latter of whom killed the other, for the ſake of reigning alone; and was ſoon after killed himſelf by Alexander of Pheræ, who ſeized the government, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. The Theban general

general ſoon compelled Alexander to make ſubmiſſion to him; and attempted, by mild uſage, to change the natural brutality of his diſpoſition. But Alexander long addicted to a debauched life, and poſſeſſed of inſatiable avarice, ſecretly withdrew from all conſtraint, reſolved to ſeize an opportunity of revenge. It was not till ſome time after that this opportunity offered; for Pelopidas being appointed ambaſſador to Alexander, who was at that time at the head of a powerful army, he was ſeized upon, and made priſoner, contrary to all the laws of nations and humanity. It was in vain that the Thebans complained of this infraction of laws; it was in vain that they ſent a powerful army, but headed by indifferent generals, to revenge the inſult: their army returned without effect, and Alexander treated his priſoners with the utmoſt ſeverity. It was left for Epaminondas to bring the tyrant to reaſon. Entering Theſſalia at the head of a powerful army, his name ſpread ſuch terror, that the tyrant offered terms of ſubmiſſion, and delivered up Pelopidas from priſon.

Pelopidas was ſcarce freed from confinement, when he reſolved to puniſh the tyrant for his perfidy and breach of faith. He led a body of troops againſt Alexander, to a place called Cynocephalus, where a bloody battle enſued, in which the Thebans were victorious; but Pelopidas was unfortunately

fortunately ſlain: his countrymen conſidered thoſe ſucceſſes very dearly earned, which they had obtained at the expence of his life. The lamentations for him were general; his funeral was magnificent, and his praiſes boundleſs. Alexander himſelf ſoon after was killed by Theba his wife, and his three brothers, who, long ſhocked at his cruelties, had reſolved to rid the world of ſuch a monſter. The account has it, that he ſlept every night, guarded by a dog, in a chamber which was aſcended by a ladder. Theba allured away the dog, and covered the ſteps of the ladder with wool, to prevent noiſe, and then, with the aſſiſtance of her brothers, ſtabbed him in ſeveral parts of his body.

In the mean time, the war between the Thebans and the Spartans was carried on with unabated vigour. The Theban troops were headed by their favourite general Epaminondas; thoſe of Sparta by Ageſilaus, the only man in Greece that was then able to oppoſe him.

The firſt attempt of Epaminondas in this campaign, marked his great abilities, and his ſkill in the art of war. Being informed that Ageſilaus had begun his march to Mantinea, and had left but few citizens to defend Sparta, at home, he marched directly thither by night, with a deſign to take the city by ſurprize, as it had neither walls

nor

nor troops to defend it; but luckily Ageſilaus was apprized of his deſign, and diſpatched one of his horſe to adviſe the city of its danger; ſoon after arriving with a powerful ſuccour in perſon, he had ſcarce entered the town, when the Thebans were ſeen paſſing the Eurotas, and coming on againſt the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his deſign was diſcovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without ſome attempt. He therefore made his troops advance, and making uſe of valour inſtead of ſtratagem, he attacked the city at ſeveral quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and ſeized that part of Sparta which lay upon the hither ſide of the river. Ageſilaus made head every where, and defended himſelf with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He ſaw well that it was not now a time, as before, to ſpare himſelf, and to act only upon the defenſive; but that he had need of all his courage and intrepidity, and to fight with all the vigour of deſpair. His ſon Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greateſt; and with his ſmall troops, ſtopped the enemy, and made head againſt them on all ſides.

A young Spartan, named Iſadas, diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly in this action. He was very handſome in the face, perfectly well-ſhaped, of an

advantageous ſtature, and in the flower of his youth; he had neither armour nor clothes upon his body, which ſhone with oil; he held a ſpear in one hand, and a ſword in the other. In this condition he quitted his houſe with the utmoſt eagerneſs; and, breaking through the preſs of the Spartans that fought, he threw himſelf upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who oppoſed him, without receiving any hurt himſelf. Whether the enemy were diſmayed at ſo aſtoniſhing a ſight, or whether, ſays Plutarch, the gods took pleaſure in preſerving him upon account of his extraordinary valour, remains a queſtion. It is ſaid, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle, in honour of his exploits; but afterwards fined him a thouſand drachmas, for having expoſed himſelf to ſo great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas, thus failing in his deſign, was reſolved, before he laid down his command, which was near expiring, to endeavour to effect ſomething that he might compenſate for his failure. In order to protect Sparta, Ageſilaus had withdrawn all the troops from Mantinea: thither, therefore, Epaminondas reſolved to bend his courſe. Being determined to attack the town, he diſpatched a troop of horſe to view its ſituation, and to clear the fields of ſtragglers. But juſt before they had reached

reached Mantinea, an army of ſix thouſand Athenian auxiliaries arrived by ſea, who, without taking any refreſhment either to their men or horſes, ruſhed out without the city, and attacked and defeated the Theban horſe. In the mean time Epaminondas was advancing with his whole army, with the enemy cloſe upon his rear. Finding it impoſſible to accompliſh his purpoſe, before he was overtaken, he determined to halt and give them battle. He had now got within a ſhort way of the town, which has had the honour of giving its name to the conflict of that day; a conflict the moſt ſplendid, and beſt conteſted, that ever figured in the hiſtory of any country.

The Greeks had never fought among themſelves with more numerous armies; the Lacedæmonians conſiſted of more than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; the Thebans of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians were poſted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakeſt of their troops, had the centre; and the Athenians alone compoſed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre: the cavalry on each ſide were diſpoſed in the wings.

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The Theban general marched in the ſame order of battle in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to loſe, in diſpoſing of his army, a precious time which could not be recovered.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills, with his left wing foremoſt, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over-againſt them, at a quarter of a league's diſtance, he made the troops halt, and lay down their arms, as if he deſigned to encamp there. The enemy, in effect, were deceived by this ſtand; and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, diſperſed themſelves about the camp, and ſuffered that ardour to be extinguiſhed, which a near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of ſoldiers.

Epaminondas, however, by ſuddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had, in his march, poſted in front, made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its ſtrength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very ſlow, and to halt

before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of choſen troops which he commanded in perſon, and which he had formed into a column to attack the enemy in a wedge-like point. He aſſured himſelf, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force conſiſted, he ſhould not find it difficult to rout the reſt of the army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the ſupport of their right againſt his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horſe and foot advance out of the line, and poſted them upon a riſing ground, in readineſs to flank the Athenians, as well as to cover his right, and to alarm them, and give them reaſon to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themſelves, if they advanced to ſuſtain their right.

After having diſpoſed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were ſtrangely ſurprized when they ſaw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and reſumed their arms, bridled their horſes, and made all the haſte they could to their ranks.

Whilſt

Whilſt Epaminondas marched againſt the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the beſt at that time in Greece, entirely compoſed of Thebans and Theſſalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horſe. The Theban general, whom nothing eſcaped, had artfully beſtowed bow-men, ſlingers, and dart-men, in the intervals of his horſe, in order to begin the diſorders of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous diſcharge of a ſhower of arrows, ſtones, and javelins upon them. The other army had neglected to take the ſame precaution; and had been guilty of another fault, not leſs conſiderable, in giving as much depth to the ſquadrons as if they had been a phalanx. By this means their horſe were incapable of ſupporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made ſeveral ineffectual attacks, with great loſs, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both ſides with incredible ardour, both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being reſolved to periſh, rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began with fighting their ſpears; but theſe being ſoon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other ſword in hand. The reſiſtance was equally obſtinate, and the ſlaughter very great on both ſides.

The troops deſpiſing danger, and deſiring only to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the greatneſs of their actions, choſe rather to die in their ranks than to loſe a ſtep of their ground.

The furious ſlaughter on both ſides having continued a great while, without the victory inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in perſon, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed, therefore, a troop of the braveſt and moſt determinate about him, and putting himſelf at the head of them, made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was moſt warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the firſt javelin he threw. This troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all that ſtood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, diſmayed by the preſence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The groſs of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and ſucceſs, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made great ſlaughter of them. But ſome troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himſelf too much to his ardour, ſuddenly rallied, and, returning to the fight, charged him with a ſhower of javelins.

Whilſt

Whilſt he kept off part of thoſe darts, ſhunned ſome of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the moſt heroic valour, to aſſure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in his breaſt, acroſs his cuiraſs. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was inſupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury; the one ſide uſing their utmoſt endeavours to take him alive, and the other to ſave him. The Thebans gained their point at laſt, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight.

After ſeveral different movements, and alternate loſſes and diſadvantages, the troops on both ſides ſtood ſtill, and reſted upon their arms; and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by conſent, ſounded the retreat at the ſame time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, becauſe they had defeated the right wing, and remained maſters of the field of battle; the Athenians, becauſe they had cut the general's detachment in pieces; and, from this point of honour, both ſides at firſt refuſed to aſk leave to bury their dead; which, with the ancients, was confeſſing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians, however, ſent firſt to demand that permiſſion; after which

the reſt had no thoughts but of paying the laſt duties to the ſlain.

In the mean time, Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The ſurgeons, after having examined the wound, declared, that he would expire as ſoon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Thoſe words gave all that were preſent the utmoſt ſorrow and affliction, who were inconſolable on ſeeing ſo great a man on the point of expiring. For him, the only concern he expreſſed was about his arms, and the fate of the battle. When they ſhewed him his ſhield, and aſſured him that the Thebans had gained the victory, turning towards his friends with a calm and ſerene air,—"All then is well," ſaid he; and ſoon after, upon drawing the head of the javelin out of his body, he expired in the arms of victory.

As the glory of Thebes roſe with Epaminondas, ſo it fell with him; and he is, perhaps, the only inſtance of one man's being able to inſpire his country with military glory, and lead it to conqueſt, without having had a predeceſſor, or leaving an imitator of his example.

The battle of Mantinea was the greateſt that ever was fought by Grecians againſt Grecians; the whole ſtrength of the country being drawn out, and ranged according to their different intereſts; and it was fought with an obſtinacy equal to the importance

ance of it, which was the fixing the empire of Greece; and this muſt of courſe have been tranſferred to the Thebans upon their victory, if they had not loſt the fruits of it by the death of their general, who was the ſoul of all their counſels and deſigns. This blaſted all their hopes, and put out their ſudden blaze of power almoſt as ſoon as it was kindled. However, they did not preſently give up their pretenſions; they were ſtill ranked among the leading ſtates, and made ſeveral further ſtruggles; but they were faint and ineffectual, and ſuch as were rather for life and being, than for ſuperiority and dominion. A peace, therefore, was propoſed, which was ratified by all the ſtates of Greece, except Sparta; the conditions of which were, that every ſtate ſhould maintain what they poſſeſſed, and hold it independent of any other power.

A ſtate of repoſe followed this peace, in which the Grecian powers ſeemed to ſlacken from their former animoſities; and if we except an expedition under Ageſilaus into Egypt, whither he went to aſſiſt Tachos, who had uſurped that kingdom, there was little done for ſeveral years following.

It will be proper to give a ſhort account of that expedition. Tachos having uſurped the ſupreme power in Egypt, applied to Ageſilaus for aid againſt the Perſian king, with whom he was at war. Age-

ſilaus, through avarice, and the hope of being preferred to the chief command, readily complied; aſſuring the Spartans, that nothing but the intereſt of his country could have induced him to go into the ſervice of a foreign prince. Being arrived in Egypt, all were anxious to ſee a man who had acquired ſo ſplendid a reputation. Accordingly, great multitudes, of every denomination, flocked to the place where he was: but how much were they aſtoniſhed, when, inſtead of an elegant, portly figure, they found a little old man, of mean appearance, lying on the graſs, with his clothes thread-bare, and his hair uncombed! They were ſtill more ſtruck, upon their offering him preſents of perfumes, and other Egyptian luxuries:—"Give theſe things," he ſaid, "to my helots; Spartan freemen know not how to uſe them." He was far from meeting with that ſort of treatment from Tachos, which he had reaſon to expect. Inſtead of making him commander in chief, that prince would allow him no command but that of the mercenaries. Ageſilaus, of courſe, became diſaffected to Tachos, and joined with Nectabenus, his nephew, who had commenced hoſtilities againſt him. Tachos was ſoon driven out of the kingdom. Nectabenus did not, however, enjoy a long tranquillity; for he had hardly been proclaimed king, when another competitor ſtarting up, Egypt was again

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in arms. Nectabenus and Ageſilaus were obliged to fortify themſelves with their troops. The conduct of Ageſilaus, during the ſiege, is much extolled. By his advice a ſucceſsful ſally was made, and Nectabenus peaceably ſeated on the throne. In return for his great ſervices, the Spartan king was preſented with two hundred and thirty talents of ſilver, and treated with every mark of gratitude and reſpect. In returning home, the enſuing winter, he was driven into the haven of Menelaus, which lies upon a deſert ſpot of Africa, where he was attacked with an acute diſeaſe, and carried off, being upwards of eighty years of age, forty of which he had been king.

The character of Ageſilaus was compounded of a variety of very oppoſite qualities. Againſt his pretenſions to the regal power there were very ſtrong prejudices, both with regard to his perſon, and his intereſt in the ſtate: the firſt he conquered by his good humour; the ſecond by the aſſiſtance of his friend Lyſander. He was ſo fully convinced of the meanneſs of his appearance, that he never would allow any ſtatue of him to be erected during his life time; and he entreated the Spartans that they would erect none after his death. He always paid the utmoſt deference and reſpect to the Senate, and to the Ephori; the conſequence of which was, that he was enabled to carry all his

deſigns,

deſigns, by freſh acquiſitions to the prerogative. He was remarkable for his abſtinence and continency; adhering rigidly to the ancient Spartan mode of plainneſs and frugality. He was capable of enduring immenſe fatigue and pain. His uncommon affection for his children made a ſtrong feature in his character. A friend having found him riding with them on a hobby-horſe, expreſſed ſome ſurprize; on which he ſaid, "Don't ſay a word of it, till you become a father yourſelf." He was in a high degree humane and generous to his enemies; eaſily forgiving their offences or debts, and never taking the ſmalleſt advantage of their diſtreſs or neceſſities. But on the other hand, he was by much too partial to his friends, in whom he ſeldom could diſcover any thing worthy of blame. His words to the prince of Caria are worthy of being remembered:—"If Nicias be innocent, acquit him on account of his innocence; if guilty, acquit him on my account: at any event, let him be acquitted." It was the misfortune of his country, that the impetuoſity and ambition of his youth degenerated, when he grew old, into obſtinacy and perverſeneſs. The effect of that change was, that he ſometimes rendered his country unhappy, by engaging in enterprizes to which the ſenate had conſented with reluctance. He had one peculiar method of deceiving his enemies. When

When about to enter upon a march, he took care to publiſh the true account of his intended route, and time of marching; by which he generally had the pleaſure of hearing that they had moved on a different day, and had taken a different road from that which they wiſhed to take. So high was his fame for military proweſs, that the Spartans appointed him not only to be their general, but their admiral; a mark of honour never conferred on any other commander.

The Athenians, when they found themſelves delivered from him (Epaminondas) who kept up their emulation, grew indolent and remiſs, and abandoned themſelves to their eaſe and pleaſure, being wholly taken up with ſhews, ſports, and feſtivals. They were naturally too much addicted to theſe amuſements; and they had formerly been encouraged in them by Pericles, who knew how to lead them by their inclinations, and who took this method to ingratiate himſelf, and to divert them from inſpecting too narrowly into his adminiſtration. But they now carried their diverſions to a much higher pitch of extravagance: they had ſuch a paſſion for the ſtage, that it ſtifled in them all other thoughts, either of buſineſs or of glory; in ſhort, the decorations and other charges attending the theatre, were ſo exceſſive, that Plutarch

tarch ſays, "It coſt more to repreſent ſome of the famous pieces of Sophocles and Euripides, than it had done to carry on the war againſt the barbarians." And, in order to ſupport this charge, they ſeized upon the fund which had been ſet apart for the war, with a prohibition, upon pain of death, ever to adviſe the applying of it to any other purpoſe. They not only reverſed this decree, but went as far the other way, making it death to propoſe the reſtoring the fund to the uſes to which it had been before appropriated, under the ſame penalties. By diverting the courſe of the ſupplies in ſo extraordinary a manner, and entertaining the idle citizens at the expence of the ſoldier and mariner, they ſeemed to have no remains of that ſpirit and vigour which they had exerted in the Perſian wars, when they demoliſhed their houſes to furniſh out a navy; and when the women ſtoned a man to death, who propoſed to appeaſe the Great King (as he was called) by paying tribute and doing homage.

In this general remiſſneſs, it was not to be ſuppoſed that their allies would treat them with the reſpect they demanded. Moſt of the ſtates, that had hitherto been in alliance with them, and had found ſecurity under their protection, took up arms againſt them. In reducing

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reducing theſe, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus, gained great reputation, and are ſuppoſed to have been conſummate generals; but their ſucceſſes are too minute to rank them among the claſs of eminent commanders; and, whatever their ſkill might have been, there was wanted a great occaſion for its diſplay. This war was opened with the ſiege of Chio, in which the Athenians were repulſed; and Chabrias, unwilling to abandon his veſſel, preferred death to flight. The ſiege of Byzantium followed; before which, the fleet of the contending powers was diſperſed by a ſtorm: in conſequence of which the Athenian generals were recalled. Timotheus was fined a great ſum, but being too poor to pay, he went into voluntary baniſhment. Iphicrates was alſo obliged to anſwer for himſelf, but got off by his eloquence; and, in the mean time, the affairs of Athens ſucceeded but ill under the guidance of Charis, who was left ſole commander. A peace was concluded; whereby every city and people were left to the full enjoyment of their liberty: and thus the war of the allies ended, after having continued three years.

During theſe tranſactions, a power was growing up in Greece, hitherto unobſerved, but now too conſpicuous and formidable to be overlooked in

the general picture: this was that of the Macedonians; a people hitherto obſcure, and in a manner barbarous; and who, though warlike and hardy, had never yet preſumed to intermeddle in the affairs of Greece. But now, ſeveral circumſtances concurred to raiſe them from that obſcurity, and to involve them in meaſures, which by degrees wrought a thorough change in the ſtate of Greece. It will be neceſſary, therefore, to begin with a ſhort account of their power and origin, before we enter into a detail of that conſpicuous part which they afterwards performed on the theatre of the world.

CHAP. XIII.

From the Birth to the Death of Philip, King of Macedon.

THE people of Macedon were hitherto conſidered as making no part of the Grecian confederacy; they were looked upon as foreigners, as men, in a meaſure, ſemi-barbarous; who boaſted, indeed, of taking their origin from the Greeks, but who hitherto neither poſſeſſed their politeneſs, nor enjoyed their freedom: they had little or no

intercourſe with their mother-country; they had contracted the habits and manners of the natives where they were ſettled, and from thence they were treated with ſimilar diſreſpect.

The firſt king who is mentioned with any degree of certainty to have reigned in Macedonia, was Caranus, by birth an Argive, and ſaid to be the ſixteenth in deſcent from Hercules. It was upon this foundation that Philip afterwards grounded his pretenſions to be of the race of Hercules, and aſſumed to himſelf divine honours. Caranus is commonly reputed to have led forth a body of his countrymen, by the advice of the oracle, into thoſe parts where he ſettled, and made himſelf king. Caranus having, according to the general account, reigned twenty-eight years, the ſucceſſion was continued after him to the times we are now treating of. But there is very little worth notice recorded of theſe kings, they being generally employed in defending themſelves againſt the incurſions of their neighbours; and as to their domeſtic affairs, they were remarkable only for the frequent murders and uſurpations which happened in the royal family.

Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-ſixth Olympiad. Having the very year after been warmly attacked by the Illyrians,

Illyrians, and diſpoſſeſſed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it ſcarce poſſible for him ever to recover again, he addreſſed himſelf to the Olynthians; and, in order to engage them the more firmly in his intereſt, he had given up to them a conſiderable track of land in the neighbourhood of their city. He was reſtored to the throne by the Theſſalians; upon which he was deſirous of reſuming the poſſeſſion of the lands, which nothing but the ill ſituation of his affairs had obliged him to reſign to the Olynthians. This occaſioned a war; but Amyntas not being ſtrong enough to make head ſingly againſt ſo powerful a people, the Greeks and the Athenians, in particular, ſent him ſuccours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and ſudden ruin.

Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, namely Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander, the eldeſt ſon, reigned but one year. Perdiccas, the ſecond brother, was oppoſed by Pauſanias, the Lacedæmonian, who began by ſeizing ſome fortreſſes; but, by the aſſiſtance of Iphicrates, the Athenian general, the uſurper was expelled, and Perdiccas, the lawful ſovereign, confirmed on the throne. He did not, however, long continue in tran-

tranquillity. Ptolemy, a natural ſon of Amyntas, laid claim to the crown, and diſputed his title: which, by mutual conſent, was referred to Pelopidas the Theban, a man much revered both for his probity and his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and, having judged it neceſſary to take pledges on both ſides, in order to oblige the two competitors to obſerve the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hoſtages, he carried Philip with him to Thebes, where he reſided ſeveral years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-loved ſon, earneſtly beſought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hoſtage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher in his houſe for the education of his ſon. Philip improved greatly by the inſtructions of his preceptor, and much more by thoſe of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made ſome campaigns, though no mention is made of them. He could not poſſibly have had a more excellent maſter, whether for war, or the conduct of life; for this illuſtrious Theban was, at the ſame time that he was a warrior, a very great philoſopher; that is to ſay, a wiſe and virtuous man. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and propoſed him as a model to himſelf;

ſelf, moſt happy, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occaſions; which, however, formed but a very inconſiderable part of the merit of that illuſtrious perſonage. But, with regard to his temperance, his juſtice, his diſintereſtedneſs, his ſincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, theſe were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the moſt dangerous enemy of Greece. After Philip had ſpent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him reſolve to leave Thebes clandeſtinely. Accordingly he ſtole away, made the utmoſt expedition, and found the Macedonians greatly diſtreſſed at having loſt their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians; but much more ſo, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a much greater force; the Peonians infeſted it with perpetual incurſions; the Thracians were determined to place Pauſanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretenſions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias, their general,

general, was ordered to ſupport with a ſtrong fleet, and a conſiderable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern; and had only a child, Amyntas, the ſon of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for ſome time, by the title of Guardian to the Prince; but the ſubjects, juſtly alarmed, depoſed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and inſtead of the heir, whom nature had given them, ſet him upon the throne whom the preſent conjuncture of affairs required to fill it; perſuaded that the laws of neceſſity are ſuperior to all others. Accordingly, Philip, at twenty-four years of age, aſcended the throne, the firſt year of the 105th Olympiad.

Never did the preſent condition of the Macedonians require a man of more prudence and activity. They were ſurrounded with as many enemies as they had neighbours. The Illyrians, fluſhed with their late victory, were preparing to march againſt them with a great army. The Pæonians were making daily incurſions upon them; and, at the ſame time, the title to the crown was conteſted by Pauſanias and Argæus; the former whereof was ſupported by the Thracians, and the latter by the Athenians; who, for that purpoſe, had ſent out a good fleet, and three thouſand land men.

Under theſe circumſtances, with ſo many enemies on his hands at once, and that before he was ſettled on the throne, his firſt care was to make ſure of his own people, to gain their affections, and to raiſe their ſpirits; for they were very much diſheartened, having loſt above four thouſand men in the late action with the Illyrians. He ſucceeded in theſe points, by the artfulneſs of his addreſs, and the force of his eloquence, of which he was a great maſter. His next ſtep was to train and exerciſe them, and reform their diſcipline; and it was at this time that he inſtituted the famous Macedonian phalanx, which did ſo much execution. It was an improvement upon the ancient manner of fighting among the Grecians, who generally drew up their foot ſo cloſe, as to ſtand the ſhock of the enemy without being broken. The complete phalanx was thought to contain above ſixteen thouſand men; though it was alſo taken in general for any company or party of ſoldiers, and frequently for the whole body of foot. But this of Philip's invention is deſcribed by Polybius to be an oblong figure, conſiſting of eight thouſand pikemen, ſixteen deep, and five hundred in front; the men ſtanding ſo cloſe together, that the pikes of the fifth rank were extended three feet beyond the line of the front. The reſt, whoſe diſtance from the front made their pikes uſeleſs, reſted them upon

upon the ſhoulders of thoſe who ſtood before them, and ſo locking them together in file, preſſed forward to ſupport and puſh on the former ranks, whereby the aſſault was rendered more violent and irreſiſtible.

When Philip had made ſome proper regulation of his affairs at home, he began to look abroad, in order to divert the ſtorms which threatened him from all quarters. By money and promiſes, he made up matters for the preſent with ſuch of his enemies as lay neareſt to him; and then turned his forces againſt the Athenians, who were marched up to Methone, to aſſiſt Argæus. He gave them battle, and defeated them; and the death of Argæus, who was killed in the action, put an end to that diſpute: for he permitted the Athenians, when they were in his power, to return home. This inſtance of his moderation, gained ſo far upon them, that they ſoon after concluded a peace with him; which yet he obſerved no longer than it ſerved his deſign of ſecuring the other part of his dominions.

Accordingly, he marched northward, where he declared war againſt the Pæonians, and ſubdued them; then fell upon the Illyrians, and having killed above ſeven thouſand of them in a pitched battle, obliged them to reſtore all their conqueſts in Macedonia. He had alſo obſtructed the paſſage

of the Thraſians; but yet did not think it ſufficiently ſecured, without making himſelf maſter of Amphipolis, which was very commodiouſly ſituated on the river Strymon, and was the key of that ſide of his dominions. He knew the importance of it, therefore he poſſeſſed himſelf of it in the beginning of his reign. This was the ground of his quarrel with the Athenians; who claimed it as one of their colonies, and made ſuch a point of it, that their ſetting up Argæus againſt him, was not ſo much for his own ſake, or for the credit of impoſing a king upon the Macedonians, as it was with a view to get the city reſtored to them by his means, in caſe he ſhould have ſucceeded in his intentions. Philip was ſenſible of their drift, and finding it neceſſary at that time to keep up ſome ſort of agreement with them, would neither keep the place himſelf, nor let them have it; but took a middle courſe, and declared it a free city; thereby leaving the inhabitants to throw off their dependence on their old maſters, and making it appear to be their own act. But the city continued no longer in this ſtate, than until he found himſelf at liberty to make a more thorough conqueſt of it; which at this time he eaſily effected, through the remiſſneſs of the Athenians, who refuſed to ſend any relief to it; alledging, in their excuſe, that it would be a breach of the peace, which

which they had concluded with Philip the year before. But the truth is, he tricked them out of it by a promiſe of delivering it up to them. But inſtead of keeping his word, he made further encroachments, by ſeizing on Pydna and Potidæa; the latter of which being garriſoned by the Athenians, he drew them out, and ſent them home; but diſmiſſed them with ſuch marks of civility, as ſhewed that he avoided coming to an open rupture with that ſtate, at leaſt until his deſigns were more ripe for it; though at the ſame time he did what he could to weaken them, and drive them out of his neighbourhood. Pydna, with the territory belonging to it, he gave up to the Olynthians, who were his father's inveterate enemies. His hands were too full at this time to revive the quarrel againſt ſo rich and powerful a city; which, for three years together, had withſtood the united forces of Sparta and Macedonia; he therefore choſe to buy their friendſhip for the preſent, and to amuſe them by the delivery of this town, as he had done the Athenians by the peace, until he could attack them with more advantage. In this ſtep alſo he over-reached the Athenians; who were at the ſame time courting the alliance of the Olynthians, in order to maintain their footing in thoſe parts. Which ſide ſoever the Olynthians inclined to, they were ſtrong enough to turn the

balance; and therefore, the gaining them became a matter of great contention between Philip and the Athenians.

From thence he proceeded to ſeize the city of Crenides, which had been built two years before, and then called it Philippi, from his own name. It was here that he diſcovered a gold mine, which every year produced an hundred and forty-four thouſand pounds ſterling. This, which was an immenſe ſum for that age, was much more ſerviceable than fleets or armies, in fighting his battles; and he ſeldom failed uſing it in every negociation. The Roman poets have ſung its effects in the moſt beautiful ſtrains. It is ſaid, that conſulting the oracle at Delphos, concerning the ſucceſs of an intended expedition, he was anſwered by the prieſteſs, "That with ſilver ſpears he ſhould conquer all things." He took the advice of the oracle, and his ſucceſs was anſwerable to its wiſdom: indeed, he was leſs proud of the ſucceſs of a battle, than of a negociation; well knowing, that his ſoldiers and generals ſhared in the one, but that the honour of the latter was wholly his own.

But a larger field was now opening to his ambition. The mutual diviſions of the ſtates of Greece were at no time wholly cemented, and they broke out now upon a very particular occaſion. The firſt cauſe of the rupture (which was afterwards

wards called the Sacred War) aroſe from the Phocians having ploughed up a piece of ground belonging to the temple of Apollo, at Delphos. Againſt this all the neighbouring ſtates exclaimed, as a ſacrilege: they were cited before the council of the Amphictyons, who particularly took cognizance of ſacred matters; they were caſt, and an heavy fine was impoſed upon them. This the Phocians were unable to pay: they refuſed to ſubmit to the decree; they alledged, that the care and patronage of the temple anciently belonged to them; and, to vindicate this, they quoted a precedent from Homer.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, was principally inſtrumental in encouraging them to arms: he raiſed their ardour, and was appointed their general. He firſt applied himſelf to the Spartans, who likewiſe had been fined by the Amphictyons, at the inſtance of the Thebans, after the battle of Leuctra, for having ſeized the Cadmea: for this reaſon they were very well diſpoſed to join with him, but did not yet think it proper to declare themſelves. However, they encouraged his deſign, and ſupplied him under-hand with money; by which means he raiſed troops, and without much difficulty got poſſeſſion of the temple. The chief reſiſtance he met with in the neighbourhood was from the Locrians; but having

ing worſted them, he eraſed the decree of the Amphictyons, which was inſcribed on the pillars of the temple. However, to ſtrengthen his authority, and give a colour to his proceedings, he thought it convenient to conſult the oracle, and to procure an anſwer in his favour. But when he applied to the prieſteſs for that purpoſe, ſhe refuſed to officiate; until, being intimidated by his threats, ſhe told him the god left him at liberty to act as he pleaſed; which he looked upon as a good anſwer, and as ſuch took care to divulge it.

The Amphictyons meeting a ſecond time, a reſolution was formed to declare war againſt the Phocians. Moſt of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and ſided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Theſſalians, and ſeveral other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilſt Sparta, Athens, and ſome other cities of Peloponneſus, joined with the Phocians. Philomelus had not yet touched the treaſures of the temple; but being afterwards not ſo ſcrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed than in the deity's defence; for he gave this ſpecious name to this ſacrilegious attempt: and being enabled, by this freſh ſupply, to double the pay of his ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, he raiſed a very conſiderable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the ſucceſs for ſome time ſeemed doubtful on both ſides. Every one knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded, and the prodigious lengths which a falſe zeal, when veiled with ſo venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken ſeveral priſoners, condemned them all to die, as ſacrilegious wretches who were excommunicated: the Phocians did the ſame, by way of repriſal. Theſe had at firſt gained ſeveral advantages, but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus, their leader, being cloſely attacked on an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himſelf for a long time with invincible bravery; which however not availing, he threw himſelf headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he muſt undoubtedly have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Oenomarchus was his ſucceſſor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

Philip thought it moſt conſiſtent with his intereſt to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks. It was conſiſtent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard either for religion or the intereſts of Apollo, and who was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war

war by which he could not reap the leaſt benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and puſh his conqueſts, without any apprehenſion of oppoſition. He was alſo well pleaſed to ſee both parties weaken and conſume each other, as he ſhould thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards to greater advantage.

Juſt on the concluſion of this war was born *Alexander the Great*. His father Philip loſt no time in acquainting Ariſtotle of what had happened. He wrote to that diſtinguiſhed philoſopher, in terms the moſt polite and flattering; begging of him to come and undertake his education, and to beſtow on him thoſe uſeful leſſons of magnanimity and virtue, which every great man ought to poſſeſs, and which his numerous avocations rendered impoſſible to be attempted by him. He added, "I return thanks to the gods, not ſo much for having given me a ſon, as for having given him to me in the age in which Ariſtotle lives."

Being deſirous of ſubjecting Thrace, and of ſecuring the conqueſts he had already made there, he determined to poſſeſs himſelf of Methone, a ſmall city, incapable of ſupporting itſelf by its own ſtrength, but which gave him diſquiet, and obſtructed

obſtructed his deſigns, whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he beſieged that city, made himſelf maſter of it, and razed it. He loſt one of his eyes before Methone, by a very ſingular accident. After, of Amphipolis, had offered his ſervices to Philip; telling him that he was ſo excellent a markſman, that he could bring down birds in their moſt rapid flight. The monarch made this anſwer—"Well, I will take you into my ſervice when I make war upon ſtarlings;" which anſwer ſtung the archer to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal conſequence to him who makes it. After, having thrown himſelf into the city, let fly an arrow, on which was written, "To Philip's right eye." This carried a moſt cruel proof that he was a good markſman, for he hit him in the right eye; and Philip ſent him back the ſame arrow, with this inſcription,—"If Philip takes the city, he will hang up After;" and accordingly he was as good as his word. A ſkilful ſurgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with ſo much art and dexterity, that not the leaſt ſcar remained; and though he could not ſave his eye, he yet took away the blemiſh.

After taking the city, Philip, ever ſtudious either to weaken his enemies by new conqueſts, or gain more friends by doing them ſome important ſervice, marched into Theſſaly, which had im-

plored his aſſiſtance againſt its tyrants. The liberty of that country ſeemed now ſecure, ſince Alexander, of Pheræ, was no more. Nevertheleſs, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebe, had murdered him, grown weary of having ſome time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppreſſed the Theſſalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldeſt of the three brothers who ſucceeded Alexander, had ſtrengthened himſelf by the protection of the Phocians. Oenomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at firſt gained a conſiderable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a ſecond time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were purſued to the ſea ſhore: upwards of ſix thouſand men were killed on the ſpot, among whom was Oenomarchus, whoſe body was hung upon a gallows; and three thouſand, who were taken priſoners, were thrown into the ſea, by Philip's order, as ſo many ſacrilegious wretches, the profeſſed enemies of religion.

Philip, after having freed the Theſſalians, reſolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This was his firſt attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a ſhare in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded, as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence

tence of going over into Phocis, in order to puniſh the ſacrilegious Phocians, he marched towards Thermopylæ, to poſſeſs himſelf of a paſs, which gave him a free paſſage into Greece, and eſpecially into Attica.

An admiſſion of foreigners into Greece, was a meaſure that was always formidable to thoſe who called themſelves Grecians; and the Macedonians, as has already been obſerved, did not come under that denomination. Ambitious of excelling, both in domeſtic and literary refinement, the Athenians had no deſire to ſee individuals conſtantly reſiding among them; and the diſſentions and diſaſters that had befallen the ſtate made them very jealous of the approach of embodied ſtrangers. Upon hearing, therefore, of a march which might prove of the utmoſt conſequence, they haſtened to Thermopylæ, and poſſeſſed themſelves of this important paſs, which Philip did not care attempting to force. The Athenians were rouſed from their lethargy of pleaſure to make uſe of this precaution, by the perſuaſions of Demoſthenes, the celebrated orator, who, from the beginning, ſaw the ambition of Philip, and the power of which he was poſſeſſed to carry him through his deſigns.

This illuſtrious orator and ſtateſman, whom we ſhall hereafter find acting ſo conſiderable a part in the

the courſe of this hiſtory, was born in the laſt year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, according to Dionyſius, who, in his epiſtle to Lammacus, hath accurately diſtinguiſhed the different periods of his life, and the times in which his ſeveral orations were delivered. He was the ſon, not of a mean and obſcure mechanic, as the Roman ſatyriſt hath repreſented him, but of an eminent Athenian citizen, who raiſed a conſiderable fortune by the manufacture of arms. At the age of ſeven years he loſt his father; and, to add to this misfortune, the guardians to whom he was intruſted waſted and embezzled a conſiderable part of his inheritance. Thus oppreſſed by fraud, and diſcouraged by a weak and effeminate habit of body, he yet diſcovered an early ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf as a popular ſpeaker. The applauſe beſtowed on a public orator, who had defended his country's right to the city of Oropus, in an elaborate harangue, inflamed his youthful mind with an eager deſire of meriting the like honour. Iſocrates and Iſæus were then the two moſt eminent profeſſors of eloquence at Athens. The ſoft and florid manner of the former, did by no means ſuit the genius of Demoſthenes. Iſæus was more vigorous and energetic, and his ſtyle better ſuited to public buſineſs. To him, therefore, he applied, and under his direction purſued thoſe ſtudies, which might accompliſh

accompliſh him for the character to which he aſpired. His firſt eſſay was made againſt his guardian, by whom he had been ſo injuriouſly treated: but the goodneſs of his cauſe was here of more ſervice than the abilities of the young orator; for his early attempts were unpromiſing, and ſoon convinced him of the neceſſity of a graceful and manly pronunciation. His cloſe and ſevere application, and the extraordinary diligence with which he laboured to conquer his defects and natural infirmities, are too well known, and have been too frequently the ſubjects of hiſtorians and critics, ancient and modern, to need a minute recital. His character as a ſtateſman will be beſt collected from the hiſtory of his conduct in the preſent tranſactions. As an orator, the reader, perhaps, is not to be informed of his qualifications. Indeed, the ſtudy of oratory was at that time the readieſt, and almoſt the only means of riſing in the ſtate. His firſt eſſay at the bar was two years after this incident, when he called his guardians to account for embezzling his patrimony, and recovered ſome part of it. This encouraged him, ſome time after, to harangue before the people in their public aſſembly; but he acquitted himſelf ſo ill, that they hiſſed him: however, he ventured a ſecond time, but with no better ſucceſs than before, ſo that he went away aſhamed, confounded, and quite in

deſpair. It was upon this occaſion that Satyrus the player accoſted him, and in a friendly way encouraged him to proceed. With this view he aſked him to repeat to him ſome verſes of Sophocles, or Euripides, which he accordingly did: the other repeated them after him, but with ſuch a different ſpirit and cadence, as made him ſenſible that he knew very little of elocution. But by his inſtructions, and his own perſeverance, he at length made himſelf maſter of it; and, by the methods before mentioned, corrected the imperfections which were born with him, as well as the ill habits which he had contracted. It is not very clear whether this paſſage be rightly aſcribed to Satyrus, who ſeems to be confounded with Neoptolemus and Andronicus, who were likewiſe famous comedians; and Demoſthenes is ſaid to have been inſtructed by all the three.

With theſe advantages and improvements, he appeared again in public, and ſucceeded ſo well, that people flocked from all parts of Greece to hear him. From thence he was looked upon as the ſtandard of true eloquence; inſomuch that none of his countrymen have been put in compariſon with him; nor even among the Romans, any but Cicero. And though it has been made a queſtion by the antient writers, to which of the two they ſhould give the preference, they have not ventured

ventured to decide it, but have contented themſelves with deſcribing their different beauties, and ſhewing that they were both perfect in their kind. His eloquence was grave and auſtere, like his temper; maſculine and ſublime, bold, forcible and impetuous; abounding with metaphors, apoſtrophes and interrogations; which, with his ſolemn way of invoking and appealing to the gods, the planets, the elements, and the manes of thoſe who fell at Salamis and Marathon, had ſuch a wonderful effect upon his hearers, that they thought him inſpired. If he had not ſo much ſoftneſs and inſinuation as is often requiſite in an orator, it was not that he wanted art and delicacy, when the caſe required it: he knew how to ſound the inclinations of the people, and to lead them to the point he aimed at; and ſometimes, by ſeeming to propoſe that which was directly the contrary. But his chief characteriſtic was vehemence, both in action and expreſſion; and, indeed, that was the qualification of all others moſt wanted at this time: for the people were grown ſo inſolent and imperious, ſo factious and divided, ſo jealous of the power of the democracy, and withal ſo ſunk into a ſtate of pleaſure and indolence, that no arts of perſuaſion would have been ſo effectual, as that ſpirit and reſolution, that force and energy of Demoſthenes, to humble them, to unite them,

and

and to rouſe them into a ſenſe of their common danger.

But Demoſthenes himſelf could not have made ſuch impreſſions on them, if his talent of ſpeaking had not been ſupported by their opinion of his integrity. It was that which added weight and emphaſis to every thing he ſaid, and animated the whole. It was that which chiefly engaged their attention, and determined their councils; when they were convinced that he ſpoke from his heart, and had no intereſt to manage but that of the community: and this he gave the ſtrongeſt proofs of in his zeal againſt Philip, who ſaid, He was of more weight againſt him than all the fleets and armies of the Athenians; and that he had no enemy but Demoſthenes. He was not wanting in his endeavours to corrupt him, as he had done moſt of the leading men in Greece: but this great orator withſtood all his offers; and, as it was obſerved, all the gold in Macedon could not bribe him.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.